THE BOYS' BOOK OF THE WORLD WAR

FRANCIS ROLT-WHEELER

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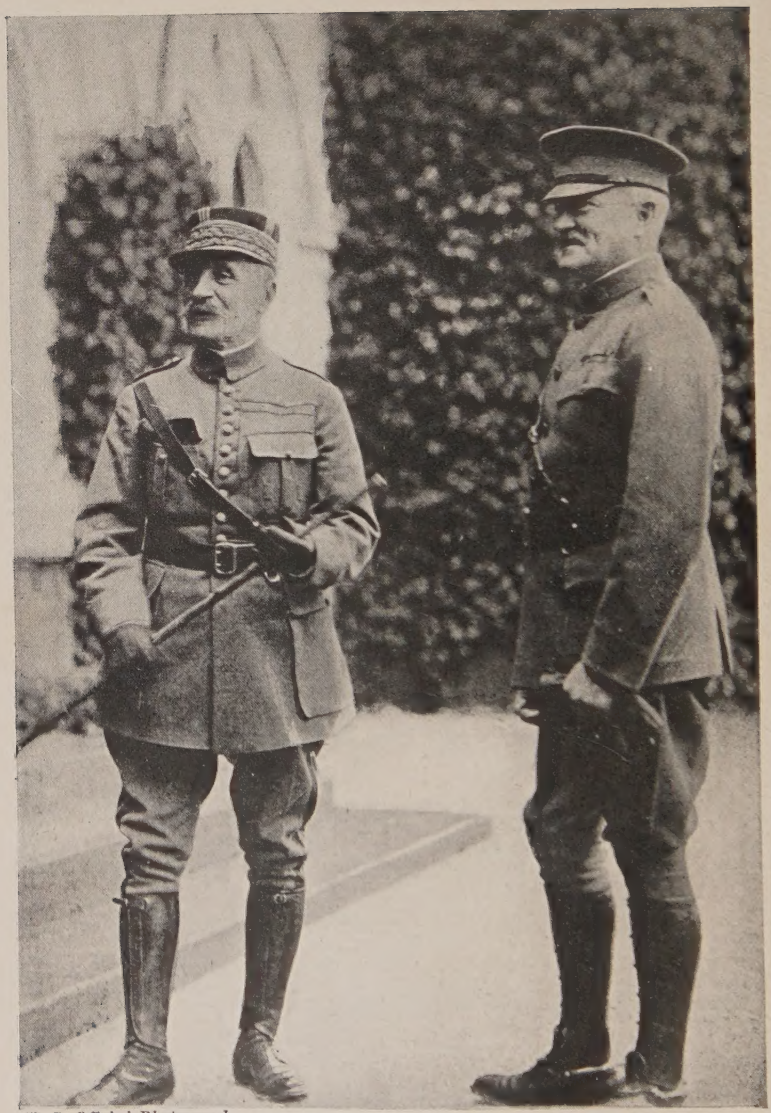

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THE GENERALISSIMO AND THE AMERICAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Marshal Ferdinand Foch (left) and Gen. John J. Pershing at the American General Headquarters, Chaumont, France, June 17, 1918.

THE BOYS' BOOK OF THE WORLD WAR

BY

FRANCIS ROLT-WHEELER

With 49 Illustrations from Photographs, and
47 Maps and Diagrams by the Author

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The Boys' Book of the World War

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PREFACE

There is always a "why" and a "how" to such a tremendous upheaval of humankind as the Great War. To a boy's mind, especially, these two questions are of as great interest as the events of the war itself. The author has always believed that a book for younger readers should not contain less of serious questions — such as strategy, diplomacy and economics — but rather more. Only, they should be simply and directly handled.

The same spirit which urges a boy to take a watch to pieces to find out why and how the mechanism moves, urges him to take a war to pieces to find out why and how the mechanism moved. He does not only want to know, he wants to understand. Not only will a boy learn more about the Mesopotamian campaign, for example, if he realizes the significance of the Berlin-to-Bagdad-Railway project, but he will more enjoy reading about it.

The boy is more logical than the man, because experience has not yet taught him that logic is a very relative matter. The author conceives that a *boys'* book on the War, therefore, should satisfy this insistent demand of youth. In broad strokes, it should show the main causes and the deductions therefrom; it should give the larger strategical plans and the results thereof; it should make the reader a partaker of the mental processes of statesmen and generals rather than cram the actual events down his throat with a spoon.

The author takes this occasion to say that through his many years of writing for boys, he has become more and more convinced of the acuteness of the young mind. It is easier to fool an adult than a boy. Librarians, teachers and scoutmasters, who know boys, are well aware of the necessity of lucid and logical explanation.

To put before the boys of the United States an impartial, accurate and broad purview of a segment of world-history which has happened in their own times; to let them trace for themselves the appalling results of error or the splendid outcome of right thinking; to lead them to patriotism rather than to Chauvinism; and to have them become better citizens of America because better citizens of the world, is the aim and purpose of

THE AUTHOR.

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THE BOYS' BOOK OF THE WORLD WAR

I

THE CONCLAVE OF FIVE

"ACROSS the dark background of this great war," said the Chief of Staff, looking round upon his four co-laborers, "there has shone from the first day to the last a golden flame leading men on — the Flame of Liberty. No soldier has died in vain, no civilian has suffered a useless sacrifice. The new world rises, purified by pain. Not only has this war been the greatest conflict in human history, but the story of it is the greatest recital of human effort that has ever been told. To tell that story is a sacred trust. It must be told impartially, it must be told sincerely, and I do not hesitate to say that it must be told reverently. On fields where lie hundreds of thousands of the heroic dead, the historian must remember where he stands. It is in that spirit, Gentlemen, that we should recount the events of the Great War."

The others, seated around the table in the Chief's room at Washington, nodded gravely.

"If we are to present accurately that world convulsion," said the oldest man of the five, a white-haired Serbian diplomat, who had spent most of his life in the various capitals of Europe, "we must bear in mind that this has been a war

of many nations. No previous war in the world's history has been so tangled a puzzle of national jealousies and rivalries. We must unravel these tangles and explain these puzzles. We must state exactly what were the deep-grown roots of the war, we must show the diplomatic balancings which forced each nation successively to join in the struggle, we must uncover the intrigues of crowned heads and statesmen, and, finally, we shall be compelled to analyse the final outcome, inclusive of the League of Nations and the various treaties of peace."

"And," added the Chief of Staff, "this must be told clearly and briefly. Truly, Mr. Diplomat, your task is not an easy one."

"Yet, if my friend will permit me," interposed the Military Expert, a French tactician who had served directly under Marshal Foch, "while diplomacy bore an important part, it seems to me that the Great War was preëminently a War of Armies. Never has there been waged a conflict which so revolutionized military tactics and strategy as did this one. To name two factors alone — look at the effect of aerial warfare as a scouting and artillery aid on land, and at the submarine wrestle for the mastery of the undersea! Modern War is as different from the war of a century ago as a modern rifle is different from the bow-and-arrow of a savage. A true history of the Great War must show exactly what military strategy and tactics have come to be."

"That's all very well," rejoined the third speaker, a keen young Englishman whose fame as an Economist was recognized in both hemispheres, "but I must ask you both not to forget that Commerce was the fundamental issue of that million-manned death-grapple, and that Finance was

the principal weapon of both sides. Money dominated and directed the campaigns, in Berlin and Petrograd, as at London, Washington or Paris. Diplomacy and Military Strength are but the tools of nations and those tools can only be forged in national treasuries. If England, first, and the United States, later, had not been able to give gold and credits to the smaller Allied nations, what would have become of them? As I see it, this war has been largely a War of Purses."

But the American of the conclave, a war correspondent who had observed and studied the vast struggle on all the principal fronts, voiced an indignant protest.

"Not for a minute!" he declared emphatically. "It was human personality which started the war, human personality which carried it along during those four bloody years, and human personality which ended it. Don't let us get led astray into abstracts! It was the rapacity and arrogance of the Kaiser and the German Junkers which set the torch; it was the gallantry of the Belgians, British, and French which stopped the Hun from despoiling the whole civilized world; and, at the last, it was the ability of America to put two million men into the trenches and to have another two million ready to follow them which finally overweighted the scales and sent Germany down to defeat. You'll go wrong, all of you, unless you remember that it was the French poilu, the British Tommy and the American doughboy who decided the issue. It wasn't Diplomacy, Dynamite, or Dollars that won the war, it was Men!"

The Chief of Staff smiled at his four co-laborers in the great work.

"Each one of you is partly right," he said, "and each one partly wrong. These four great factors — Diplomacy,

Military Strength, Wealth, and Human Effort — all had their part to play. All had their share in the great story. I look to you, Gentlemen, to present that story, each from his expert knowledge. The others will correct and advise. Thus we will gain at the same time, accuracy and breadth of judgment. You, Mr. Diplomat, will present to us at our next meeting, your review of the causes of the war."[1]

[1] In the ensuing chapters, each of these characters will describe a phase of the war in the spirit of his own specialty. Where matters that are partly open to question are discussed, they are treated conversationally. Thus the reader is enabled to distinguish between proved facts and probabilities, a valuable aid when history is so recent that it lacks the perspective of time. Historic continuity is thus maintained and yet immediacy in issues still in solution is made possible.

II

THE ROOTS OF THE WAR

GREED was the main root of the war — said the Diplomat — as it is the root of most of the evils of the world. Greed of power and greed of wealth, these were the German bane. Prussianism desired to establish a world empire, to make the Teuton civilization compulsory over the globe.

For the achievement of this end, two things were necessary — an extension of territory and an increase of commercial opportunity. The territory that Germany coveted in the west belonged to Belgium and France, and her long-desired dream in the Near East — the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad — was menaced by ever-nearing British control. The commercial opportunity she sought was in the hands of England and of France.

In the world race for territory and commercial opportunity, Germany had been left behind.[1] This was not her fault, but her misfortune. She did not enter the race soon enough. When, late in the nineteenth century, the German Empire was formed, most of the desirable parts of the globe had already been taken under possession by other European nations.

[1] Territorial area: British Empire, including colonies (1913), 11,447,877 square miles; German Empire, including colonies, 1,444,609 square miles. Imports and Exports: British Empire, $9,721,603,000; German Empire, $5,279,427,000. Merchant Shipping: British Empire, 12,415,204 tons; German Empire, 3,320,071 tons.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there happened in Europe that strange medieval rebirth of civilization which developed into The Renaissance of the two centuries following. Men woke from the stupor of the Dark Ages and began to study anew the beauty of Greece and the law of Rome. Italy was the first to feel it, and such cities as Florence and Venice became the centres of the world's culture.

At the same time there had also come an awakened interest in the Far East, begun by the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and brought to a head by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453), thus ending the Byzantine Empire. Spain had already been spurred to progress, largely because the southern part of her territory was in Saracenic and Moorish hands, and, during the Dark Ages, the Arab Caliphates had upheld the torch of civilization.

This link with the Orient, this reawakening to the science of Greece and Rome (contemned as heresy by the Church) and this rebirth of idealism within the Church herself, brought new light to the world. Pliny at Rome and the Arabic observatory at Bagdad had shown that the world was round, and, though this idea was at first derided in Western Europe, it gave rise to the belief that the East could be reached by sailing westerly over the Atlantic Ocean, and that the riches of the Orient could thus be more easily secured than by long and dangerous journeys overland.

When Columbus discovered the West Indies, in 1492 (though believing them to be the East Indies), he brought to a focus all the dreams and theories of the fifteenth century and prepared the way for that great succeeding century of discovery, exploration and conquest, which began with the

circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan's expedition in 1519-1522.

Fronting the Atlantic seaboard were four powerful nations: Spain, France, Holland, and England. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were filled with their maritime rivalries. Spain conquered and looted Mexico and Peru, France colonized Canada, and explored the interior of the North American continent; Holland secured a grip on the East Indies; England colonized the coast lands of North America, Australia, and inaugurated the East India Company which paved the way for her later conquest of India.

During all this time there was no Germany. That part of Europe was still a section of the loosely knit "Holy Roman Empire" which began in 962 and was destroyed by Napoleon in 1806. Even at so late a date, the area of modern Germany was a confusion of three hundred principalities, dukedoms, and free cities, each with a different ruler and infected with petty jealousies of several centuries' standing. "Only four states," declared a contemporary historian, "were larger than a potato field." These four states were Saxony, Württemberg, Bavaria, and Prussia.

Just as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been the period of conquering the unoccupied lands of the world, so the eighteenth century was the period of colonizing and organizing the territories newly won. England definitely secured Canada and India, and both the United States and France won their independence from kingly rule.

Even yet, there was no Germany. Prussia, alone, had grown in strength, owing to the energy of Frederick the Great, who came to the throne in 1740 and reigned for forty-six years. By joining hands with Catherine the Great of Russia (a German princess), Frederick fell upon

the smaller nations and created a powerful state in the centre of Europe. But Prussia had no such ocean outlet as Spain, Holland, France, or England, and, in the scramble for colonial territory, she played no part.

In 1861, William the Silent, also known as "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse," came to the throne, after three years as Regent. With Otto von Bismarck, a statesman of commanding genius, as his chancellor, he succeeded in creating Modern Germany in the form of the North German Confederation of 1866. At its first parliament, most of the states which later formed the German Empire were represented, with the exception of the three powerful southern states of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg.

Bismarck was a man with a plan, and this plan was the unification of all German territories. He wanted to bring the powerful southern states into the Confederation. Realizing that there is no nationalizing cement so strong as the defensive bonds of war, he forced the Franco-Prussian War on the world, partly, if not largely, for the purpose of swinging the southern German states into line. He was entirely successful. When the peace of 1871 was signed at Versailles, and the German Empire was formed, this dream of Bismarck's was realized.

There was thus formed, in 1871, a powerful military empire in the centre of Europe, with but little ocean seacoast, few ports, and no colonies. She needed an outlet both for her surplus population and for her commerce. All Colonial outlets were shut off. Nothing remained but some tracts of territory in "darkest Africa" and a few islands in the Pacific Ocean. These she obtained in the years 1884-1890.

In order to overcome this terrific handicap, Germany set

FIG. 1. PRUSSIA IN 1753
(Frederick the Great)

FIG. 2. PRUSSIA IN 1810
(Time of Napoleon)

FIG. 3. GERMANY IN 1866
(Peace of Prague)

FIG. 4. GERMANY IN 1871
(After Franco-Prussian War)

out with two aims: to become the strongest military power in Europe and to become the strongest industrial power, as well. With armies and with money, she could beat down her weaker neighbors and fatten at their expense. The lust for territorial expansion and the jealousy of industrial competitors lay behind all Germany's preparations for war.

It is not enough, however, that certain statesmen have an idea. If it is to be successful, the people must carry it out, which requires that the idea become a part of the national spirit. In Germany the Gospel of Force — which is the doctrine that the stronger has the right to take from the weaker merely by reason of his strength — had been preached to the people for generations.

Thus, German philosophy had declared: "Germany is to the rest of the world as good to evil"; the national song of Germany (*Deutschland über Alles*) said frankly: "Germany over all, over all in the world"; Kaiser Wilhelm II declaimed "Me and God," placing himself first; German historians wrote: "A state may do as it pleases, it has no superior judge over itself"; and the Crown Prince announced: "It is only by relying on our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us."

So, to the German diplomatic desires for territory and commercial increase, must be added the popular chauvinism, or exaggerated and unreasoning patriotism. Before the war the German people believed that vicious principle: "My Country, right or wrong, my country!" This attitude of boasting — from which no nation is entirely free, though some have the disease worse than others — is the cradle of war.

When a nation believes itself superior to all others it be-

comes as insufferable a nation as a man who believes himself to be superior to all other men becomes an intolerable individual. This is what is known as "egomania" and, in its arrogant and mad disregard of the feelings of others, it not only produces war, but also produces the most horrible excesses in war. Such facts as the popularity in Germany of the famous and infamous "Hymn of Hate" revealed that the German people were deeply infected with this poison of national conceit. The Junkers did not force the war-spirit on Germany, they fanned to a flame the embers that smoldered there already. Thus greed on the part of the German leaders, and chauvinism, which means an unreasonable degree of patriotism, on the part of the German people, plunged the world into war.

"I believe you could make your statements even stronger with regard to German aggressiveness," remarked the Military Expert, when the Diplomat had finished. "Militarism is not a question of the dictates of rulers, nor of the size of the military establishment, but of the spirit of the people. The army was Germany's chief glory and chief pride. The Gospel of Force was the creed of the most peaceful citizen. Such a state of mind cannot be forced upon a people, it must appeal to a sentiment already there. Race character is race character, and, throughout the centuries, the Teuton has been ready to reach out for torch and gun."

The Economist nodded assent.

"Particularly under the strain of great success or utter poverty," he said. "The first breeds arrogance, the second begets despair, and either arrogance or despair will eagerly resort to force. If war is to be avoided for the future, no nation must be allowed to become too strong and none

must unduly suffer. If my American confrère will allow me to state the matter, I would say that with nations, as with individuals, each must possess the "inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

III

ALLIANCES BEFORE THE WAR

IT is one of the main principles of international politics — continued the Diplomat — that no single nation must be allowed to grow too powerful, since, if she does so, she becomes a menace to all the smaller nations around her. To counteract this menace, whenever it has occurred, the threatened nations have formed an alliance among themselves, agreeing mutually to help any one of their number which may be endangered.

Such an alliance may be stronger than the one big Power, in which case the latter has always endeavored to maintain her position of control by alliance with some other Power. This diplomatic manipulation of forces continues of itself until all the available nations are aligned on one side or the other. Thus all alliances and ententes have been formed.

When the World War was brewing, a number of such alliances were in force in Europe. There was an offensive and defensive alliance between Germany and Austria, in which Austria was Germany's tool. There was a defensive, but not offensive, alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy; this was known as the "unholy" Triple Alliance. An agreement existed between Germany and Bulgaria. A secret understanding had been established between Germany and Turkey. Thus Germany, Austria, Italy, Bulgaria and Turkey were linked together, the Italian participation being

purely of a defensive character, a fact which had much to do with the later diplomatic conduct of the war.

On the other side, there was the Dual Alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Russia; this was an absolute essential if the peace of Europe were to be preserved, for it meant that any hostile action by Germany or Austria would be countered by combined opposition on both the eastern and western frontiers. There was also a naval agreement between France and England, which, however, was not a technical alliance and on which France could not depend in case of war. There was a secret pact between England and Russia, which did not become officially known until the storm-clouds of the World War had gathered. The cementing of these three agreements created what was known as the Triple Entente.

These alliances were all-important in the World War. Every diplomatic move centered around them. To understand their relations, one to the other, it is necessary to show how they came into existence. There was neither generosity nor altruism in the older type of diplomacy. All alliances were made and all wars were waged either to gain a desired end or to defend what had already been won. One side must always be the aggressor.

The World War was a direct sequel of two preceding wars: the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 and the Second Balkan War of 1913.

The Franco-Prussian War, as has been stated, was brought about by Bismarck as a means of consolidating the North and South German states into the German Empire. The final treaty of Versailles, in 1871, after the defeat of France, compelled the conquered country to pay $1,000,000,000 as indemnity, and to resign to Germany the two pro-

vinces of Alsace and Lorraine with 5,605 square miles of territory and a population of approximately 1,500,000.

This seizure of territory, as President Wilson stated in 1918, "was a wrong which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years." It may have been a moral wrong, but it was entirely justifiable from the point of view of international law. History is full of such instances.

There is no doubt, however, that the compulsory cession of Alsace-Lorraine was ill-advised and inexpedient. It bred revenge. During the forty-seven years that the two provinces were in German hands, the statue symbolic of Strassburg, the capital of Alsace, situated on the Place de la Concorde, in Paris, was veiled, in token that France still mourned her lost provinces and as a continual threat that they would be retaken. When Germany was finally defeated in 1918 and Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France, this statue was unveiled amid national rejoicings.

The Treaty of Versailles, therefore, formed one of the deep-rooted causes of the enmity between Germany and France. The frontiers of both countries became strongly fortified camps, and, in the soil of rancor, the noxious weed of belligerency flourished.

The two Balkan Wars may be regarded as parts of a fifty-year-long process of kicking the Turk out of Europe. The European nations had always felt that the Yellow Man had no place on the White Man's native territory. In 1871, when the Franco-Prussian War ended, the Turkish Empire in Europe was a vast state, as large as Germany, with a coast-line on the Adriatic Sea, on the Mediterranean and on the Black Sea. The government was non-European in type, and massacres of Christians — such as the Armenians and the Macedonians — were the rule rather than the exception.

In 1875 the peasants of the then Turkish province of Herzegovina revolted, and Slavs in Serbia, Montenegro, and Austrian Dalmatia joined them in race fellowship. The Powers of Europe endeavored to make peace, except for England, who remained silent. The following year the Turks massacred 12,000 men, women and children, in cold blood, and the Powers took vigorous action. Both England and Russia pronounced themselves strongly against Turkey, and Bulgaria, seizing a favorable moment, declared her own independence and assumed a leading part in the resultant war. Turkey was decisively defeated in 1878, and a treaty was signed at San Stefano. This was modified, shortly after, by the famous Congress of Berlin.

The treaty arrangements made at the Congress of Berlin were thoroughly wrongful. There were nine principal decisions: 1) the territories of Serbia and Montenegro were increased; 2) Austria was given the right to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, although these provinces were allowed to remain nominally under Turkey; 3) the frontier of Greece was extended northwards, though her claim to the island of Crete was denied; 4) the Russian frontier in Asia Minor was extended southwards; 5) the new Bulgaria, as formed by the Treaty of San Stefano, was cut in half and Macedonia was returned to the Turks; 6) Eastern Rumelia was created from the southern half of Bulgaria; 7) a coast-line territory, known as the Dobrudja, was taken from Turkey and given to Roumania; 8) the Roumanian territory of Bessarabia was given to Russia; and 9) the island of Cyprus was assigned to England.

This arrangement was bursting with the seeds of future war. It sowed an even stronger hate between Austria and Serbia with regard to Bosnia. It made Bulgaria a fester-

ing sore of discontent, for the Bulgarians felt that they had won their independence and their right to an outlet on the sea. It left the Cretan trouble as a dynamite bomb between Greece and Turkey. It made Macedonia a subterranean mine ready to blow up the peace of Europe.

Why, then, it may be asked, was such an arrangement made? The answer is simple. Bismarck, the directing genius of the Congress of Berlin, realized that friendship with Turkey was of more value to Germany than an alliance with Russia. This was one of the reasons why, when the World War broke out in 1914, Germany and Russia were foes, and Germany and Turkey were friends.

In 1908, Austria, without even troubling to give any legitimate reason, annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, territories possessing a large proportion of Serbian population. This nearly brought on the world war at that time, for Germany declared herself on the side of Austria. Russia protested mildly, but, having just been defeated in the Russo-Japanese War, she did not dare defy Austria and Germany. England was not ready for war, and, accordingly, Austria retained the stolen provinces.

Bosnia thus became the Alsace-Lorraine of the Near East, with the difference that Austria's annexation had been utterly unjustifiable. So long as Bosnia was in Austrian hands, so long would war in the Balkans be ever on the verge of eruption.

Macedonia, the subterranean mine, was now ready to blow up. Turkey possessed the province, indeed, but five other nations wanted it. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Austria and Italy all laid claim to the territory. Not one of them had any conclusive right to it. Balkan diplomacy commenced to take on an angry tone and the Powers ordered

that the quarreling cease. But Bulgaria was savagely hostile to any peaceful solution. Ever since the Congress of Berlin she had been openly defiant of the Powers, being heightened in this defiance by the return of Eastern Rumelia, which abandoned its brief independence in 1886. Led by Bulgaria and assisted by Greece, the Balkan States, on October 18, 1912, whirled into war and whipped Turkey, taking only fourteen days to smash the Turkish armies in the north. The fortress of Scutari, in the south, held out against the Greeks until the following spring. The Treaty of London, closing the war, was signed on May 1, 1913, and Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece each received an addition of territory.

In every treaty arrangement, some one must needs be dissatisfied. The Treaty of London formed no exception to this rule. Austria was resentful because she did not want to see the Balkan States grow stronger. Germany was equally disturbed because peaceful consolidation in the Balkan States would interfere with her plans. The diplomats of Berlin and Vienna saw clearly that, if they could set Bulgaria and Serbia by the ears, there was more chance for them to carry out their schemes of conquest in the Near East. Germany and Austria, therefore, set themselves on the side of Bulgaria and fanned the ever-ready flames of race hatred, hoping to provoke another war among the little nations, and, when the latter were weakened, in the ensuing treaty to grab territory and concessions for themselves.

Germany succeeded, only too well. Bulgaria invaded the country of her neighbor, Serbia, without declaration of war, as unprovokedly and as ruthlessly as Germany invaded Belgium one year later. In similar fashion, this first viola-

FIG. 5. TURKEY, GREECE AND BALKAN STATES BEFORE THE TWO BALKAN WARS

FIG. 6. BALKAN STATES AFTER THE BALKAN WARS AND AT THE OPENING OF THE GREAT WAR

tion spurred the surrounding countries to action. Since Germany did not dare to come out in the open and admit that she had been deliberately raising trouble, Bulgaria was left to her own devices. Greece swung up from the south, Roumania hastened down from the north, and, exactly a month later, Bulgaria was decisively defeated.

This Second Balkan War was closed by the Treaty or "Peace" of Bucharest. By the terms of this treaty, Turkey in Europe was reduced to a small state,[1] the main part of the despoiled territory being given to Serbia and to Greece. Roumania, also, received a large slice of territory, while Bulgaria got no greater a share of the spoil than was assigned to tiny Montenegro. It was evident that the Powers of Europe, with the exception of Germany and Austria, were hostile both to Bulgaria's ambitions and to the Bulgars themselves.

It is to be remembered that the Bulgars are no more a European people than are the Turks. They are Asiatic in racial type and one-fifth of the population is Mohammedan. Although their language and customs are Slavic, there is no love lost between the Bulgarians and the Slavs. Nothing irks the Bulgars more than to be classed with the Yellow Race, but they are Turko-Tartars, nevertheless.

The "Peace" of Bucharest, therefore, left two Teutonic states and two Turko-Tartar states thoroughly dissatisfied. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey wanted revenge, They waited only eleven months before forcing upon the world the greatest war in human history.

Considered from the point of view of international

[1] Before the Balkan Wars, Turkey-in-Europe possessed 65,300 square miles of territory, with a population of 6,130,000; after them, this had shrunk to 10,880 square miles of area, with a population of 1,900,000.

alliances, the World War was not a conflict between certain European nations fighting against certain other European nations, but rather it was a Teutonic-Turko-Tartar combination pitted against the western civilization which had gradually been built up during centuries of progress. It was the hand of the Hun.

The American War Correspondent nodded.

"I think," he said, thoughtfully, "that was where we were a bit askew in the United States at the beginning of the war. We'd always kept ourselves clear of 'entangling alliances' and a good proportion of Americans looked on the invasions of Serbia and of Belgium as matters which didn't directly concern us. We felt that we ought to let Europe alone, even as, by the Monroe doctrine, we declared that Europe ought to let America alone."

"Yes," countered the Diplomat, "but if, for example, Germany had supported Japan in an invasion of the Pacific Coast in sufficient numbers to threaten the integrity of the United States, I am of the opinion that Americans would have expected the white nations of Europe to come to your aid against the Yellow Peril."

"We might have expected that very thing," the American agreed. "It's sure that all the progressive nations of the earth would band together if Civilization and Christianity were menaced. Men of the White Race must stick together."

IV

THE BERLIN-TO-BAGDAD RAILWAY

"BEFORE you pass on to the events immediately preceding the war, Mr. Diplomat," interjected the Economist, "it seems to me that the enormous audacity of Germany's plans in the Near East ought to be pointed out. Many acute judges of the World War have declared that the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was the main objective of German finance, and that the whole western offensive was largely a gigantic piece of defensive tactics to cover the projected eastern conquests."

"Do you think so yourself, Mr. Economist?" asked the Chief of Staff.

The Englishman pondered a moment.

"Yes, I do," he said, decidedly. "The chief unexploited commercial prizes of the world lie there. The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was the most alluring economic goal of the whole war. Had the project succeeded, it would have given Germany seaports and naval bases on the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf. It would have won for her the rich mineral deposits of Asia Minor, the vast oil-fields of Persia and the huge grain areas of Mesopotamia. It would have menaced British control of Suez and of India. In a word, it would have meant world empire.

"It was because of that project that Germany made

friends with Turkey instead of Russia at the Congress of Berlin, it was for the same reason that she supported Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War. Already she had the concessions; already, in 1914, the Railway was half built. A few years of peace would have sufficed to complete it. Why did not Germany wait? She could not. The avalanche of war had commenced to move.

"It seems to me a little invidious to say that Germany alone began the war. It is entirely wrong to say that she alone desired it and conspired to bring it about. Germany but took the situation in hand in order to be able to strike first. German greed may have been one of the roots of the war, but those roots derive their nourishment from the soil of commerce, and that soil had been in a ferment for a generation.

"Germany had waged war — and successful war — in the world of commerce. Her merchandise had captured the earth. Free trade England was panic-stricken over the trademark "Made in Germany." By her willingness to give long credits, Germany was rapidly securing a monopoly of South American trade. Russia was in the hollow of her financial hand. No country in the world has ever witnessed such astounding progress as Germany conceived after her banking acts and scientific tariffs.

"In spite of this, or, in a measure, because of this, Germany found herself, in the beginning of 1914, in a difficult position. Her birth rate was high and 65,000,000 people were tightly compressed on German soil. Acre for acre, Germany raised more crops than any land in the world, thanks largely to her potash mines and to the fact that farming was done scientifically and not haphazard. Per capita of population, she produced a larger industrial out-

put, principally because hours of labor had not been shortened and because the government did not permit costly strikes. She needed room to spread.

"Moreover, Germany desired not only to gain territory and commerce, but to impose her system of civilization. She wished to be the guiding star which all men must follow. As a result, her national, municipal and local improvements were among the best in the world. Her canal system was a marvel. Her highways could sustain the heaviest traffic in all weathers. Her buildings were of the most solid construction. To all this must be added the fact that Germany was in the forefront of all plans for the betterment of the industrial population. Nowhere else were there such vast pension schemes, such perfected organization for sickness, old age and the like.

"Furthermore, Germany had expended and was expending uncounted millions in her military and naval programmes. Upon no nation of the world did the cost of Army and Navy fall more heavily than on Germany. She was not only maintaining enormous military and naval establishments, but she was continuously preparing for war.

"This would seem like marvellous success, but it was not. It was merely reckless spending. In the ten years 1900-1910 the public debt more than doubled. Moreover, much of Germany's wealth was in paper, while England and the United States held the gold. Germany's success was glittering outside, but it was at the cost of impending national bankruptcy.

"In the spring of 1914, shortly before the first mobilization of the German army, a well-known diplomat discussed Germany's finances with the head of the Reichsbank, the chief financial institution of the empire.

"'What comes next?' asked the diplomat, when the appalling condition of the finances was revealed.

"'Smash or war comes next!' was the reply.

"As a matter of fact, both came. When war was about to be declared, Germany had a gold reserve of $465,000,000 and the coined gold was estimated by the Reichsbank at $1,000,000,000. This was enough for a short war, such as Germany had projected. Hence the economic necessity of the dash through Belgium, an aim thwarted by the gallant Belgian defence and the entrance of England into the conflict. Twenty months later, not only had all this been spent, but $11,000,000,000 had been taken from the German people in bonds, as war loans, and the Reichsbank had issued $4,000,000,000 in notes over and above the gold in its possession. Thus, a year before the United States entered the war, Germany was bankrupt to the extent of fifteen billion dollars.

"German financiers knew and understood the desperate circumstances of the case. They knew that metals, chemicals and foodstuffs were absolutely essential to the immediate conduct of the war. They knew, too, that if Germany were to secure a financial return for the terrific expenses of the war, it must be by tapping and exploiting a new and rich country. Hence the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway to secure the metals from Asia Minor and the foodstuffs from Mesopotamia.

"The invasion of Belgium was an economic necessity, not only because a quick war is less costly than a long war, but also to secure control of Belgium's iron mines. The seizure of Northern France was of economic value by reason of the vast coal deposit. The most pressing value on the opposite front was to secure copper, cotton, tobacco, and, above

all, wheat, from the Near East, Turkey and Asia Minor.

"The western front was to be gained by military force and surprise. The eastern goal was to be achieved by railroad strategy. My friend, the Military Expert, will bear me out in the statement that the capture of Paris would have been a lesser danger to the peace of the world than the completion of the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway in German hands.

"Just as every German was trained, as a soldier, to prepare for the humiliation of France and England, so every German business man was trained to regard the Near East as a future German possession. The first step in the movement to convert this dream into a reality was the building of an elaborate system of canals in Germany, linking up the rivers Elbe and Rhine with the Danube. Thus, when the war broke out, vessels of 1,000 tons could steam from the North Sea to the Black Sea, clear across Europe.

"For many years France and England had been the principal investors of capital in the Turkish Empire — which was one of the reasons that Turkey had not been thrust out of Europe long before. Yet, when the Kaiser paid his famous visit to the Sultan of Turkey, in 1889, the only railways in Asiatic Turkey were a line from opposite Constantinople to Nicomedia, built by British capital; and a line from Smyrna to Aidan, in Syria, built by French capital.

"The Kaiser, officially declaring himself to be 'the chief ally of the Mohammedans,' secured from the Sultan the right to build German railways in Asia Minor. The plan was threefold. One new line projected was the extension of the Nicomedia Railway. The second was the building of the so-called 'pilgrim line' through the desert to Medina, in Arabia, where Mohammed founded the Moslem

FIG. 7. MAIN INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY LINES OF EUROPE

Note especially the Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow-Samara-Ufa-Cheliabinsk-trans-Siberian line; the Berlin-Vienna-Buda-Pesth-Belgrade-Nish-Sofia-Constantinople-Scutari-Konieh-Urfa-Mosul-Bagdad line; the two Paris-Bagdad lines, through Munich-Vienna-Belgrade and through Lyons-Turin-Venice-Trieste-Belgrade respectively; the lines to Africa, through Paris-Bordeaux-Biarritz-Madrid-Cadiz-Tangier-Fez, crossing the Sahara desert; and the line Paris-Lyon-Turin-Rome-Naples-Brindisi, thence by steamer to Alexandria, connecting with the Alexandria-Cairo-Cape Town railway.

religion. The third was a line to Bagdad, through Mosul.

"Officially, these were supposed to be commercial projects, designed to give Germany a share of the world commerce which passes through the Suez Canal. As a matter of fact, they were military strategic railways, which is proved by the fact that these lines did not touch the most important commercial points, but were located for their inaccessibility against attack.

"Owing to the extremely rocky and mountainous character of the country, the Bagdad line, through Asia Minor, was costly and difficult to build. It is 1,510 miles in length, with numerous tunnels. Of this, 982 miles were completed at the opening of the war, and, when work ceased in 1916, because Germany had neither the men nor the materials to spend on the project, 1,117 miles were completed.

"After the war had ended and both Germany and Turkey had surrendered, the line passed into the hands of the British, who completed it. The 'pilgrim line' passed into the hands of the Prince of Hedjaz, with whom the British made a definite alliance. It also, therefore, became virtually under British control.

"Moreover, since Palestine was conquered by English and French troops, the railroad line from Jericho to Jerusalem, with its north and south branches to Gaza and Smyrna respectively, became British. Thus the whole eastern shore of the Mediterranean is linked by railways to the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and thence to the Persian Gulf. As an all-German line, the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railways project has ceased to be possible. I doubt whether German control of the Near East can ever come

to pass. Commercially speaking, this was the Allies' greatest victory in the war."

"But are you so sure that Germany is stopped in that corner?" queried the War Correspondent. "Suppose Germany should make an alliance with Russia, some time in the future, and come charging down from the Caucasus. Couldn't the Bagdad line be cut there?"

"The balance of probabilities is heavily against it," answered the Economist. "A modern army cannot be transported nor its Lines of Communication kept up without good roads and railroads. From the Caucasus southwards to the line of the Bagdad Railway is one of the roughest and most mountainous regions of the entire world. It would cost millions of dollars to build a railroad there, and would not be justified commercially. It would never pay. Even with unlimited means such a line would take twenty years to build. After it was built, moreover, the haulage would be difficult and costly, while the holders of the Aleppo and Bagdad railroads could secure unlimited supplies from Mediterranean ports. No, Germany's commercial dream of conquest in the Near East must be abandoned. By her own aggressive war, she has closed the gate against herself, perhaps for ever."

V

THE ASSASSIN'S SHOT

THE Great War flared upon a startled world like the rising column of flame from a new volcano — resumed the Diplomat. Statesmen and financiers may have seen the impending danger, but, with the possible exception of Germany, the peoples of the various nations were unaware of the coming catastrophe. Not a little of this apparent suddenness was due to the fact that the actual incident which was seized upon as the cause of war was of negligible importance as compared to the magnitude of the results.

This incident was the assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Austria claimed that the crime was incited by Serbia. Thus the strife began.

The assassination hinged upon the Bosnian problem, and as this remained — even after the war — a serious issue, Serbia's position in the matter needs to be explained. Bosnia-Herzegovina were, by the Treaty of Berlin, handed over to Austria for administration. The provinces were annexed by Austria in 1908. Yet the population was solidly Jugoslav, more than two-thirds being Serbians.

Serbia had been nominally independent for just one hundred years when the Balkan War began. The century had been one of constant strife, with Turkey, Austria and Russia continually inciting revolution and bloodshed. In

addition, Serbia was rent with civil strife and that of the ugliest character. Murder and violence were the common political weapons. In 1903, both King Alexander and Queen Draga were assassinated, under peculiarly horrible circumstances, and the incoming king found himself an object of abhorrence in every capital of Europe.

The blatant annexation of Bosnia by Austria almost brought about a world war. Perhaps it would have done so if Serbia had not been regarded with such contempt. In the compromise that followed upon a discussion of Austria's action, Serbia was left out in the cold. This further envenomed Serbia against Austria.

The passing of Bosnia into Austrian control was a serious hindrance to Serbia's dream of a "Greater Serbia," a state containing all the territory occupied by the Jugoslavs (Southern Slavs). This embraced Serbia, Old Serbia, part of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Dalmatia and the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Fiume, which became of such international importance during the year 1919, was the principal seaport of this section. Such a state would have a Jugoslavic population of approximately 11,000,000, as well as 4,000,000 inhabitants not of that stock. It would thus be as large as the Scandinavian group, including the populations of Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

Since a state of this magnitude would be a first-class Power, and since Austria-Hungary was always on the verge of collapse, this Jugoslavic or "Greater Serbia" idea was a continual nightmare in Vienna. With each succeeding year this national movement grew stronger, and, as it increased, it endangered Austria more and more. The strong

Serbian population in Bosnia caused that Province to be a constantly seething pot of revolt and it was evidently only a matter of time before the theft of 1908 would have to be abandoned.

On Sunday morning, June 28, 1914, the Crown Prince of Austria, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, accompanied by his wife, the Duchess of Höhenburg, arrived in Serajevo,

FIG. 8. LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES IN WESTERN BALKANS (1913)

FIG. 9. POLITICAL BOUNDARIES IN THE WESTERN BALKANS (1913)

Note carefully the lack of agreement in these two sets of boundaries. From this confusion sprang all the Balkan Wars and the Bosnian question precipitated the Great War.

the capital of Bosnia, for the alleged purpose of inspecting the Austrian troops of the garrison. He had been in the vicinity for some days, attending military maneuvers. These maneuvers had been regarded with hostility by the Jugoslavs in Bosnia, because they believed them to be designed as a parade of threat, showing the military force which Austria had ready, prepared to suppress any incipient revolt.

The Crown Prince of Austria was cordially hated, not only by the Bosnians, but also by the Austrians. His marriage had displeased the old Emperor, and it was an open

secret that the Crown Prince's death was ardently desired in Vienna. For this, there was more than the personal reason. The Crown Prince was known to favor a proposed design to raise the Jugoslavs to the same political equality as the German Austrians and the Magyars.

At first sight, such a plan seems fair and wise, but a little consideration shows the dangers to which it laid open the tottering monarchy. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as it was before the war, lived nine several and distinct peoples. There were 12,000,000 Germans, 10,000,000 Magyars, 8,500,000 Czechs, 5,000,000 Poles, 4,000,000 Ruthenians, 3,750,000 Serbians, 3,250,000 Roumanians, 2,500,000 Jews, and 1,250,000 Slovenes. Roughly, then, there were twelve millions of Teutons, controlling Austria; ten millions of Magyars, controlling Hungary; and twenty million Slavs in a condition of great or lesser subserviency. To give political equality to the Slavs would weaken German power in Vienna and Magyar power in Buda-Pesth. These two great groups, therefore, hated the Crown Prince.

At the same time, the plan did not please the Slavs. They did not want political equality under Austria, they desired national independence.[1] Besides which, the Poles and the Bohemians had little in common, and both were entirely different from the Jugoslavic group. Not one of these three divisions approved the ideas of the Crown Prince. He had no friends, anywhere.

On this Sunday morning, the Crown Prince and his consort were motoring slowly through the crowded thoroughfares of Serajevo, on their way to an official welcome at the Town Hall, when a bomb, hurled from a roof, fell

[1] By the terms of the final peace treaties, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Jugoslavia secured their independence.

into the hood of the Archduke's car. With quick presence of mind, the Archduke seized the bomb and tossed it into the street, where it at once exploded, injuring two adjutants in the car following. A Serbian was arrested as the bomb-thrower.

The Crown Prince continued on his way to the Town Hall and delivered a short address, after which he resumed his journey to the field of inspection. He had gone but a short distance when a second bomb was thrown at the car. It failed to explode, and the man who had thrown it rushed forward with a revolver and fired several shots at the royal couple. Two bullets struck the Crown Prince, another mortally wounded the Duchess. As the Crown Prince fell back in his seat, he gasped out:

"The fellow will get the Golden Cross for this!"

In view of later events, this remark was significant. Since the Golden Cross is an Austrian Order, it is clear that the Crown Prince regarded the attack as having been directed from Vienna, rather than from Belgrade. When the assassin was examined, however, he proved to be a Serbian student, and a report was published that he had confessed that he had informed the Pan-Serbian Union of his intention to assassinate the Archduke. This report may or may not have been true. The assassin, however, had been a member of the "Greater Serbia" organization.

The wounds proved mortal, and both the Crown Prince and his wife died soon after being removed to Government House. Rioting broke loose in Serajevo, but, owing to the large numbers of troops present for military maneuvers, order was speedily restored.

The shots had been fired which were to be used as the pretext for the Great War.

"Who do you think was really responsible for the crime of Serajevo?" queried the War Correspondent. "Would you blame Serbia, Bosnia, Hungary, Austria, or Germany?"

"Austria, without question," the Diplomat answered, "but Austria acting with German connivance. It is known that the Crown Prince's death was desired in Vienna, it is also known that there were German spies and agents in the 'Greater Serbia' organization. Documents have come to light which show that both Austria and Germany were hopeful, if not even confident, that the visit of the Crown Prince to Serajevo would give rise to some trouble which would serve as a pretext for harsh measures. It is possible that the assassin believed himself to be doing a heroic act of patriotism for Serbia, when, in reality, he was but a tool of some sinister Austrian or German agent. We know that one of his personal comrades was a paid German spy. Serbian hands fired the shot, but the opportunity had been provided by Austria, the provocation was Austrian, and the war intent was fostered in Berlin."

VI

THE STING OF THE SCORPION

THERE are few things more striking in the events that preceded the World War — commented the Diplomat — than the silence which followed the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince at Serajevo. Every diplomatist in Europe knew that the issue was one which could be used to precipitate a war, almost every one hoped that, in such case, it might be confined to a local conflict in the Balkans.

The assassination took place on June 28, 1914. On July 5, just a week later, there was an all-important conference in Potsdam, the royal residence most customarily occupied by the Kaiser. The German Emperor was present himself at this conference, having hurried home from a hunting trip for that purpose. At this conference were present not only the military chiefs of Germany, but also the financial and industrial leaders, and these agreed that Germany could be completely ready for war within a few weeks. The conference determined that Austria might be informed that she could count upon German support in any demand she made upon Serbia.

A long correspondence between Berlin and Vienna — much of which has come to light — reveals that while Austria was greedy for the humiliation of Serbia and the acquisition of more territory, she was afraid of provoking the partly-formed but all-powerful Triple Entente of

France, Russia and England. She remembered that, only the autumn before, Italy had declined to join in any plan for the dismemberment of Serbia. This rendered doubtful the allegiance of Italy to the Triple Alliance.

Germany, on the other hand, was eager for war. The moment seemed propitious. In the first place, France had been steadily economizing in military preparations and was manifestly unready for a sudden war; in the second place, England was seriously entangled with the nationalist movements in Ireland and a large part of her regular army was in the colonies, whence it would take a long time to transport them; in the third place, the Czarina of Russia was a strong pro-German and the Russian Imperial Court was absolutely in the hands of the pro-German Baltic nobles.

At the same time, Germany realized that her main military strength depended on swiftness of action. Should Austria's demands on Serbia provoke war, Russia would undoubtedly come to Serbia's help. France would be necessarily included, because of her alliance. England's attitude was in doubt, though the German Secret Service had advised Berlin that England would not be likely to intervene in the event of punitive action against Serbia.

The first hint of war came on July 20. On that day, the German Ambassador to England, in reply to a question from the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated that he had no definite news from Vienna on the Serbian question, "but Austria was certainly going to take some step."

The step, when it came three days later, was like a thunderbolt. Never, in the whole history of diplomacy, has there been a note more bullying, more arrogant, and more unjustifiable than that which the Austrian government sent to Serbia on July 23, 1914. It demanded an official re-

pudiation of the "Greater Serbia" movement and a dissolution of the society which fostered it, required the dismissal from Serbian public service of all "Greater Serbia" officials and, above all, ordered Serbia, to accept in Serbia, the trial of Serbians by Austrian officials. This latter clause was equal to a demand on Serbia to deny her own independence.

This was not all. The sting of the scorpion was in its tail. The note closed with the astounding phrase: "The Austrian government expects the reply of the royal (Serbian) government at the latest by 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, the 25th of July."

On the same day, almost at the same hour — and this is most significant — that the note was dispatched to Belgrade from Vienna, the Chancellor of the German Empire instructed the German ambassadors in the European capitals to state that "the acts as well as the demands of the Austro-Hungarian government cannot but be looked on as justified." This is proof positive that the German government was aware of the contents of the Austrian note at the time it was sent.

The sting of the scorpion lay in the brief lapse of time allowed for decision. Forty-eight hours' notice was a period far too short to allow the Powers to intervene. The note meant practical annexation, or war.

Serbia's Big Brother, Russia, promptly protested, begging for delay. Austria refused. England protested to Germany, only to receive the answer that Austria's demands could "only be regarded as equitable and moderate."

Serbia might oppose Austria successfully, but never could she face Austria and Germany together. In utter distrac-

tion, and at the last minute, Belgrade agreed to all the terms except that of abandoning her independence.

Serbia's reply was received in Vienna on July 25 at 5:58 P. M., two minutes before the close of time. It may have been read, it may not have been. Sure it is that, at 6:26 P. M., twenty-eight minutes after the receipt of the reply, the Austrian Ambassador at Belgrade informed the Serbian government: "not having received a satisfactory answer within the time limit set, he was leaving Belgrade."

On July 26, Serbia mobilized her army, although, at the same time, doing all that she could to enlist the Powers on the side of peace. On that day, the statement was made in the British parliament that "there were hopes that the issues beween Serbia and Austria could be localized." On the same day Russia protested even more vigorously, and received a reply from Berlin — not from Austria — that this was a matter with which Russia had nothing to do.

On July 27, although war had not yet been declared, the Austrians invaded Serbia, crossing the border at Mitrovitza, on the Save. With the foe actually over their borders, the Serbians took a decisive step. They blew up the great International Bridge across the Danube, at Belgrade, and, simultaneously, shots were exchanged between the troops on the Austrian and the Serbian banks of the river. Though Austria formally did not declare war until the following day, these shots at Belgrade, on July 27, 1914, were regarded as the opening gunfire of the Great War.

"Do you suppose," asked the Economist, turning to the Military Expert, "that if the Powers had kept out of the war, Serbia could have made a defensive stand against Austria?"

"Yes," came the answer, "if by Serbia you mean the other Balkan States who would have sided with her. But you must remember that Germany had stated her support of Austria's demands at the time that the note was sent. When the first shots of the war were exchanged at Belgrade, Russia and Germany had already taken sides. Germany was mobilized, and Russia had begun to set in motion the ponderous machinery of her mobilization. From the tactical point of view, Serbia would have been swamped before Russia had time to move."

"Well," said the War Correspondent, "why couldn't Russia and Serbia have been left alone to fight it out with Germany and Austria?"

The Diplomat shook his head.

"No," he said, "that could not be allowed. In all probability, as has just been said, Serbia would have been overrun at once. Besides that, a victory for either Russia or Germany would have resulted in the creation of a single nation too big to be controlled by the balance of power. Furthermore, France had an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia, and so was in honor bound to enter."

"But why was England so ready to join in?" persisted the American. "She had no direct interest in Serbia, her agreement with Russia was not a compulsory one, and there was quite a little anti-French feeling in English political circles on account of the Morocco troubles. We all know that the British Government wouldn't go to war because of altruistic sympathy with little Belgium. Governments don't work that way."

The Economist hitched forward his chair.

"If you will allow me," he said, "I should like to answer that question. There were several reasons why the

British Empire felt itself compelled to enter the war, and most of these reasons were commercial in character.

"Germany forced the war on Europe, it is true," he continued, "but in justice it must be admitted that, though England was unready, she was not unwilling. I think, on the whole, the British Empire was glad to take up the German challenge."

VII

THE SCRAP OF PAPER

IF Germany had expected that the British Empire would enter the War so quickly and so completely — the Economist declared — it is my opinion that there would never have been a war. No one, least of all England herself, dreamed that the need would be so great, nor imagined that the response from the various colonies of the Empire would be so overwhelming. Germany hoped, even to the last, that England would stay neutral; even as she hoped, long after she had the right to hope, that the United States would stay neutral.

England could not keep out of the war. The British Empire contained one fourth of the world's population, and transacted more than one fifth of the world's commerce. She was the creditor nation of the world. She controlled the highways of the Seven Seas. Much of her industry and most of her commerce depended on shipping, and shipping, in its turn, depended on freedom of the seas. War imperiled that right. Any war, no matter by whom waged or for what cause, which threatened to interfere with commerce, was a blow at England.

Again, Germany was England's chief commercial rival. The label "Made in Germany" was to be seen everywhere. Often, indeed, such goods were of a cheap variety, clever imitations of high-grade products, but, on the other hand, there were many articles wherein Germany led the world,

optical goods, for example. German merchant shipping was increasing steadily and Germany's control of the finance and commerce of South America was a menacing example as to what might happen if this growth were to go on unchecked. Moreover, Germany's naval building program was enormous, and though she was far behind England in number and character of ships, still the German navy was beginning to be a factor to be reckoned with. England's free-trade policy was giving way to colonial preferential tariffs and the like, a sign of German pressure.

Then there was the question of the East. The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was a direct hit at England's supremacy in the Orient. Germany's alliance with Turkey was a threat to the Suez Canal, which is the road to India. The obvious good feeling between Berlin and Madrid was a threat to Gibraltar. The gradual extension of German coaling stations in the Pacific, such as the acquisition of the Solomon and Caroline Islands, brought foreign naval bases uncomfortably near to Australia. German aspirations in the Far East were as disquieting as those in the Near East, and England could not afford to look contentedly on the possibility of a stronger Germany.

The Russian question, too, had its commercial aspect. Russia owed England enormous sums of money, which, if defeated by Germany, she would never be able to pay. France also was a debtor to the Bank of England, to say nothing of the millions of pounds in the hands of Greece and the Balkan States. War put all these debts in danger. On the other hand, England could lend money to her allies, and, by aiding them to victory, could make sure of her repayment of those loans at a substantial interest.

Besides these matters, there was the question of territory

to be considered. England, as a neutral, would have no voice in any partition of territory that would come after the close of the war; England, as a participant, could hold any hostile territory that she conquered. German East Africa had ever been the chief obstacle to the Cape-to-Cairo-Railway project fathered by Cecil Rhodes, German Southwest Africa was a thorn in the side of British South Africa.

Thus, financially, commercially, and territorially, England had everything to gain and little to lose by entering the war, for the actual losing of the war was a possibility not even contemplated by the British Empire. A blockaded Germany could hold out for years — she did hold out for many years — but, in the long run, she was bound to be starved out, either with munitions or with food. Modern war has become so complicated, it demands such a wide variety of chemicals, of metals, of cotton and woolen stuffs, and the provision requirements are so enormous, that overland transportation is not sufficient to supply modern armies. War, like Commerce, demands control of the seas.

Against this was to be put the question of Ireland. During the first half of 1914, Irish discontent had steadily been growing keener. The Teuton and Protestant Orangemen of the north had created an army known as the Ulster Volunteers; Celtic and Catholic Irishmen of the south and west had organized an army known as the Irish or National Volunteers. England had increased her garrisons in Ireland and every preparation had been made in the case of civil war. As a matter of fact, July 30, the day that Russia issued her final orders for mobilization and that Germany prepared her impudent note to France, was the date set for a concluding debate in the British Par-

liament which might set Ulster and Ireland in battle array, one against the other.[1]

There was also the double question of Egypt and India. For years German agents had been fomenting rebellion in these two countries, and both were ready for rebellious uprisings. Both India and Egypt were essential to the British Empire and a serious revolt in either, or both, would need a large part of the British Army to quell.

Germany counted on all these things. Knowing that England supported the Ulster side of the Irish controversy, the Kaiser's agents offered help to the Irish party, and one small group in the Sinn Fein — one of the seven National Ireland organizations which engineered the Revolution later — was willing to accept. The other organizations did not nor did the leaders who fought and were executed in 1916, with the exception of Sir Roger Casement.

Then, in India and Egypt, Germany made it known that a Holy War was to be declared, an uprising of the Mohammedans against the Christians, in which the Mohammedan countries were expected to free themselves from the overlordship of Christian rulers.

Thus, with Ireland, India, and Egypt ripe for revolution, Germany felt a reasonable hope that England might regard her internal situation as too dangerous to allow the risk of her entering the war.

As soon as Russia definitely began mobilization, which

[1] The Irish Rebellion broke out in April, 1916. A Republic was proclaimed and the Irish Flag, green, white and orange, which had been raised in the rebellion of 1848, was raised again. P. H. Pearse was named as president of the Provisional Government. The British sent 60,000 troops to subdue the Republican forces of 1100 men. In six days Pearse surrendered after Dublin had been shelled. All the leaders were executed. But Ireland considered herself a Republic still.

was on July 30, 1914, things began to happen quickly. The next day Germany sent a threat to France, ordering her to remain neutral and demanding the delivery of certain French fortresses as hostages for that neutrality. On August 1, German troops invaded Luxemburg. On August 2, German soldiers crossed into the soil of France, at three different points.

That day, England made her first definite and decisive declaration. The British Foreign Minister announced: "I am authorized to give (to France) an assurance that if the German Fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts or shipping, the British Fleet will give all the protection in its power." This was not a declaration of war, but it was a declaration of intent to wage defensive war, if necessary.

By this date, Belgium had become a crucial point in Western diplomacy, just as Serbia had been the central point in the outbreak of the Eastern conflict. On July 31, England, being aware of the likelihood that Germany would invade Belgium, had officially asked both France and Germany if they "would engage to respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as no other power violates it?" France agreed instantly, Germany dodged reply. On Aug. 1, when Luxemburg was invaded, the German minister to Brussels informed Belgium that "you may see your neighbor's roof in flames, but your own house will not catch fire."

Yet, the very next day, Sunday, August 2, Germany demanded that Belgium allow the German armies to cross her soil, promising that, if this permission were granted, Belgian independence would be restored after the war, and that, failing such submission, "Germany will, to her re-

Photo from Brown Bros.

CARDINAL AND HERO.

His Eminence, Desideratus J. Mercier, Cardinal Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium.

gret, be compelled to consider Belgium as an enemy." Only twelve hours were allowed for the answer. Just as Austria's note to Serbia had been tantamount to a demand that the country should resign her independence, so the German note to Belgium required a somewhat similar humiliation, with a vague promise of restoration "after the war."

Early in the morning of August 3, Belgium decided that surrender meant dishonor, and though aware that her decision meant incalculable ruin and bloodshed, she declared her intention of defending her liberties. On the same day, England announced her determination of standing by Belgium and the Foreign Minister declared that Great Britain would maintain, at all cost, the "obligations of honor and interest as regards the Belgian treaty."

By the next day, Germany and France, Germany and Belgium, Germany and England, and Germany and Russia were at war. Austria and Russia, and Austria and Serbia were already engaged in the conflict. It was on that day, August 4, that the main body of the German Army crossed the frontier of Belgium in its first desperate drive on Paris, and it is on that date that the World War is generally considered to have begun.[1]

"But when all the Powers saw the war plunging down on them," queried the War Correspondent, "couldn't they have stopped it before the fatal August 4?"

"Certainly," the Diplomat answered. "Even as late as August 3, Germany, Austria or Russia could have pre-

[1] The Peace Conference named August 1 as the first day of the Great War, for on that day occurred the first invasion of German troops on foreign soil.

vented the war. Germany could have stopped it, by allowing Austria to attend to her own affairs with Serbia, Austria could have stopped it by accepting the Serbian reply and Russia could have stopped it by leaving Serbia to her own devices.

"It was the western nations who were powerless to prevent. France could not deny her obligations to Russia, nor to Belgium; England could not forego her treaty with Belgium and her agreement with France. Besides, while it takes two to make a quarrel, it takes only one to make a situation so intolerable that a quarrel must result.

"Look at the actions of Austria and Germany. Before war had been declared, Austria had invaded Serbia; before war had been declared, Germany had invaded Luxemburg; before war had been declared, Germany had invaded France; before war had been declared, Germany had invaded Belgium. Even Germany herself, on the fatal day, August 4, admitted that she was defying the common rules of honor by which nations are governed. The German Chancellor, speaking before the Reichstag, declared: 'We are now in a state of necessity and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the principles of international law. The wrong — I speak openly — that we are committing, we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached.'

"It was this same Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, who inflamed the world with his 'scrap of paper' phrase. When the British Ambassador made his formal farewell on August 4, the Chancellor said petulantly: 'Just for a word, Neutrality, which in war times has been so often disregarded, just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain is going to make war

on a kindred nation! At what price would that compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?'

"The British Ambassador replied that 'he desired to point out that it was a matter of life and death for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her uttermost to defend Belgium. That solemn compact simply had to be kept. Otherwise, what confidence could any one have with engagements with Great Britain in the future?'

"Gentlemen," continued the Diplomat, looking round the table, "if I may be permitted to say so, this was one of the most significant interchanges of the whole pre-war proceedings. It was the Law of Might against the Law of Right, the Gospel of Force against the Gospel of Justice, the thug against the gentleman. The World War was fought to show that modern civilization is based upon an honorable fulfilment of promises made and engagements entered into, rather than upon the dishonorable denial of treaties and contracts, so long as profit was to be gained thereby. Why did Germany win the world's contempt on the first day of the war? Because she broke her word. Why did Belgium gain the world's esteem? Because she kept her word."

VIII

THE VIOLATION OF BELGIUM

THE " scrap of paper " statement by the German Chancellor immediately attained an importance utterly unexpected by the statesman who had uttered it. Germany's broken pledge to Belgium and her invasion of her smaller neighbor, followed by the atrocities committed by the German armies, aligned almost the whole world's sympathies with Belgium. The United States was one of the few governments which did not instantly protest.

What, then — queried the Diplomat — was so heinous in this action on the part of Germany? What was it that caused this invasion to be known as " one of the blackest crimes on the sooty pages of international piracy "? It was because Belgian neutrality was the most solemn and sacred obligation that had ever been entered into by the European Powers, and because, time after time, even as late as 1912, Germany had pledged herself never to violate Belgian territory.

Belgium's position in international politics was a curious one. Modern Belgium was created in 1830, and the first Belgian king was named by England. The king chosen was Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but his ascent to the throne was made conditional on his marrying the daughter of Louis Philippe of France. In this way, the Belgian crown was regarded as the name-child of England, Germany and France.

Moreover, these three powers determined among themselves, by solemn treaty, that, since Belgium was the battlefield of Europe, and situated between the three great powers, her territory should be declared forever free from invasion. She was declared "a perpetually neutral state," and the powers pledged "perpetual neutrality and also the integrity and inviolability of her territory." In 1839 this treaty was renewed, enlarged and reinforced. In the 1839 treaty, a special stipulation was made that "no foreign army shall be allowed to cross the frontier into Belgium for any purpose whatsoever."

Although Belgium was thus safeguarded against invasion, and, at the same time, debarred from undertaking any military conquest, it was clear that Belgium herself must have certain obligations to discharge. She was required to defend her frontier, should there ever be any attack by a foreign enemy, and, for that purpose, she was allowed to maintain a standing army and to erect fortresses on her main strategic points. Three of these, Liége, Namur and Antwerp, were especially important, for Liége was the key to the German frontier, Namur the key to the French frontier and Antwerp the key to the sea.

When the Franco-Prussian War broke out, England stepped forward in 1870 — just as she did in 1914 — and forced both France and Prussia to renew their solemn obligation "to maintain the independence and neutrality of Belgium as established by the Treaty of 1839." Since Prussia, in 1870, would not have had the ghost of a chance against the combined forces of France and England, she agreed promptly to the British request.

Matters in Western Europe remained moderately peaceful for a number of years, largely because the various pow-

ers were quietly engaged on the partition of Africa. A number of minor disputes had arisen, however, and these led to the formation of the famous Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague, capital of Holland, at that time [1] hopefully expected to be a means of preventing future war. At The Hague, in 1907, Germany again endorsed her approval of the perpetual neutrality of Belgium, herself declaring it to be a "necessary prelude to the peace of Europe."

Germany, however, had been little trusted in European

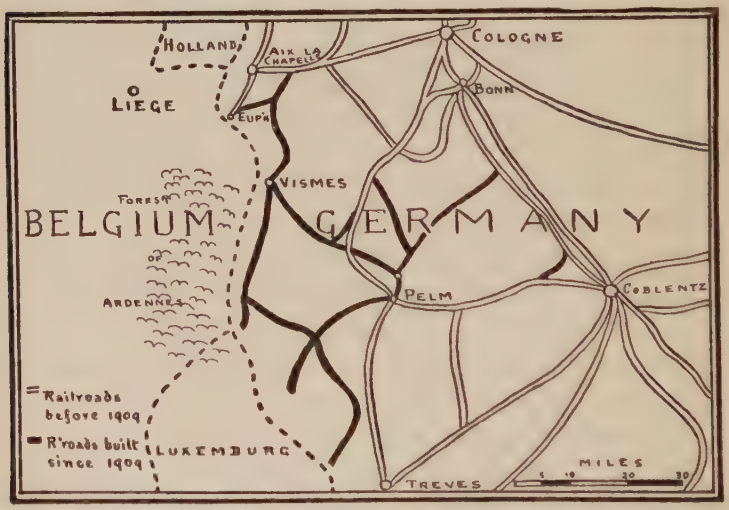

FIG. 10. STRATEGIC RAILWAYS ON THE BELGIAN AND LUXEMBURG FRONTIERS

Though Germany assured the world in 1911, 1913 and 1914 that she would never violate Belgium, she was building and double-tracking railway lines to all vulnerable points, during those years, in preparation for war.

capitals, and in 1911 it was made known that the Kaiser's engineers had not only built strategic railways to various points along the French frontier, which they had a perfect

[1] The Hague Peace Conference first met in 1899; the Arbitration Court was constituted in 1901.

right to do, but also to a number of points along the Belgian frontier. These railways, some of them double-track lines, ended in the middle of fields only a few miles from the border. German excuses that these lines were for "commercial purposes" were exposed as unjustified by the facts. England once more compelled a statement from Germany, and early in 1912 the German Chancellor declared "Germany has no intention of violating Belgian neutrality."

The next step in Germany's treachery to Belgium was that of accepting the contract to modernize her fortresses and supply Liége, Namur and Antwerp with the most approved heavy guns from the Krupps Works at Essen. Having thus prevented the other nations from enabling Belgium to strengthen herself, the Krupps Works never sent the guns. German military writers frankly admitted that Belgium was the only route for an invasion towards France, while, in the German military schools, the topography of the Belgian frontier and the tactics necessary for conquering it were a part of the regular course. The chief Professor of History in the University of Berlin, who was regarded as the Kaiser's spokesman, openly declared that "the treaty of 1839 was signed by Prussia, not by Germany."

Under these circumstances, England once more took up the question. It was vital to her, for German possession of the Belgian seacoast would put her rival at her very doors. Therefore in April, 1914, three months before the Great War, England forced a new statement from the German Foreign Minister, who declared "Belgian neutrality is provided for by international conventions and Germany is determined to respect those conventions."

On August 1, 1914, the German military attaché tele-

phoned to the editor of the largest newspaper in Brussels: "You may deny, in your largest type, that Belgium has anything to dread." Yet, within twenty-four hours, the ultimatum demanding the surrender of Belgian independence was in the hands of the Belgian King and his ministers.

It was a terrible alternative, but not a Belgian voice was raised toward submission. Belgians had signed the treaty and they would not withdraw. The tiny nation defied the towering bully. They declared, in ringing tones: "The Belgian Government is resolved to repel, by all the means in their power, every attack upon their right." This was in the early dawn of August 3.

The last word in this controversy, on which the peace of Europe lay hung in a balance, was given by the British Ambassador to Germany. The words were historic, for they declared the official basis on which the British Empire entered the war and thereby defeated Germany's chance of a swift victory. Lord Goschen said:

"I informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial German Government could give assurances by twelve o'clock that night that they would proceed no further with their violation of the Belgian frontier, I had been instructed to demand my passports and to inform the Imperial Government that His Majesty's Government (England) would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves."

The German Foreign Minister replied that any such reconsideration was impossible.

Germany had gone too far. She had stirred to action the biggest empire in the world. She had arrayed against

her an invincible fleet. She had loosed forces of such terrible destructiveness that the conflict could not be stayed until one side or the other should be humbled in the dust. The World War, in all its plenitude of destructiveness, was begun.

"What difference do you suppose it would have made," said the Economist thoughtfully, turning to the Military Expert, "if Belgium had allowed the German armies to pass?"

"An enormous difference," was the reply. "It would have changed the whole current of the war. If the German armies had crossed Belgium and held the sea-coast, right from the start, England would not have dared to send an Expeditionary Force into France. Moreover, if the Germans had not been held back by the gallant Belgians, especially at Liége, they would have been able to come upon unprepared France so swiftly that Paris would probably have fallen in a few days.

"It would not have ended the war, of course, the issues were too large for that, and, as our friend the Economist would point out, both sides had too much money involved. But it is sure, none the less, that had it not been for the defence of Belgium, the task of the Allies would have been tenfold harder. Few people realize, today, how important was the defense of Liége. It was fully as important as the Battle of the Marne. Let me show you how, and why."

IX

THE DEFENCE OF LIÉGE

IN two different ways,— began the Military Expert — Liége was a decisive factor in the war. From the point of view of military tactics, its defence was to settle a controversy which had raged in artillery circles for many years, namely, whether modern guns and howitzers were stronger than modern fort defences, or whether modern forts could resist direct attack. From the point of view of military strategy it was important, because even a day's delay was a serious obstacle to the German plans of a lightning-swift dash, and a corresponding gain to the Allies.

Liége was a ring fortress, that is to say, the city itself was not fortified but was encircled by six first-class and six second-class forts. Each of the main forts was built as a triangle, each commanded an important natural position and each could only be approached by a steep artificial mound. There was a deep interior ditch, swept by quick-firing shrapnel and machine gun fire. Heavy guns, in cupolas, could fire 6-inch shells in any direction. The main forts of Liége were impregnable to any gun-fire at the time they were built.

Modern siege artillery, however, had replaced the direct-fire, long-range gun which depends for its destructiveness on its striking velocity, by the howitzer, which lobs its shells

up in the air and depends for its destructiveness on the high-explosive in the shell. The German 8.2-inch howitzers proved strong enough to shatter the outer forts of Liége, and later the famous 16.4-inch (42-centimeter) howitzers wrecked the forts to the north and south. The first military lesson of the war had been learned — modern fixed forts, no matter how strongly built, cannot resist the destructive effects of modern high explosives.

Thus far, Liége may be considered as a great military disappointment. The revelation of the intrinsic weakness of her forts, at one blow destroyed the value of all similar forts in Belgium and on the French frontier. Great fortifications had no longer any value. There was no structure made by the hands of man that shells from the German 16.4-inch siege howitzer could not demolish in a few shots.

As, however, Liége became one of the symbols of the world for its success in another form of military defence, it is necessary to follow closely the actual events of the first few days of the war.

Six German armies were massed on the Belgian-Luxemburg-France Frontier on August 4, 1914. These armies numbered approximately 1,200,000 men. The First German Army, under General von Kluck, was north of Aix-la-Chapelle; the Second, under General von Bülow, was south of that point; the Third, under the Duke of Württemberg, was along the river Moselle; the Fourth, under the German Crown Prince, was opposite Luxemburg; the Fifth, under the Bavarian Crown Prince, was at Metz; and the Sixth, under Marshal von Heeringen, was opposite Nancy.

The German military strategical plan had the advantage of being definite and simple. The First Army was to reduce Belgium. The Second Army was to march direct to

the powerful fortresses of Namur and Maubeuge, and, accordingly, the 42-centimeter siege howitzers were attached to this army. The Third Army was to force the Ardennes country by Givet and strike for Paris, not waiting for the reduction of Namur, and this army was the special "combat" or "shock" group. The Fourth Army was to attack Paris, and for this reason it invaded Luxemburg three days ahead of the declaration of war. The Fifth Army was to strike between Verdun and Paris, across the Marne, the most dangerous gate to inner France. The Sixth was a defensive army, designed to stop any possible French counter-advance in Alsace.

Now, the key to modern military movement is railways. Liége controlled the main lines to Brussels and to Paris. It was the duty of the First Army to secure these, and, in order to effect the capture of these railways not only must the city of Liége be taken, but all the forts which actually commanded the railway lines must fall.

The German First Army threw forward an advance force of 120,000 men. At dawn, on August 5, Belgium had succeeded in hurrying 22,500 men to the defence of the frontier. General von Emmich, the German commander of the advance guard, ordered a massed-formation attack. His orders were to break through without loss of time at all hazards and at any cost. Hours counted, but not the lives of men. From morning until evening, masses of iron-gray infantry charged at the outer forts of Liége, to be mowed down in masses by gun, machine-gun and rifle fire. The Belgians achieved a glorious victory. They drove back an enemy who outnumbered them six to one.

Realizing that fatigue would be his strongest ally, the German general continued the assault all night, meanwhile

bringing up all the reserve howitzers. By dawn of August 6 one fort fell, another, two hours later. General Leman, the heroic defender of Liége, withdrew his men to the northern, western and southern forts.

At midday, the Germans demanded the surrender of Liége, threatening the bombardment of the city unless this were done. The civil authorities were willing, in order to save the city from ruin, but General Leman was too good a military strategist to permit the Germans to pass on without putting every possible obstacle in their way. As long as the western forts commanded the railways, so long would the enemy be delayed, and delay was priceless. There was a panic in Liége, for every minute the citizens feared that the hostile shells might begin to fall, but Leman answered shortly,

"The forts must hold!"

The city submitted and the Germans entered in triumph. There was no triumph in the heart of the German commander, however, for he knew that Leman, with an army now reinforced to 36,000 men, still held the forts. Four more forts fell on August 7, two on August 8. Of these four, Fort Boncelles became an inferno of fire. It never fell, it was simply swept into a heap of ruins and charred bodies.

On the evening of the 8th, only three forts remained standing: Fort Pontisse, which commanded the Liége-to-Antwerp railway, Fort Loncin, which commanded the Liége-to-Brussels railway, and Fort Flemalle, which held the Liége-to-Paris railway. With little food or sleep, the Belgians stuck to their posts. These forts were so situated that there was no sheltered place near enough for the 8.2-inch howitzers. A dozen times the German crossed the

Meuse on pontoon bridges, a dozen times the six-inch guns from the forts swept the bridges into splinters and piled the invaders into heaps of mangled dead.[1]

The German commander grew maniacal in his fury. He had failed, and failed in his country's greatest pinch. As

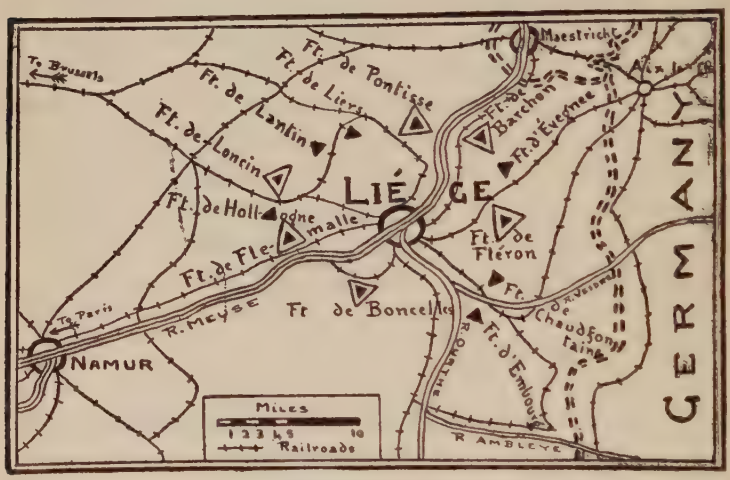

FIG. 11. THE FORTS OF LIÉGE

Note the manner in which the first-class forts control the main railroad lines, with especial regard to Forts Loncin, Flemalle and Boncelles. As the larger guns of these forts had a 10-mile range, their cross-fire covered every point, even should each alternate fort fall.

a last resort, he was compelled to send word to the Second German Army asking for the 42-centimeter siege guns, which, by that time, were far on their road to Namur. This was a desperate request, for it confessed von Emmich's failure, it delayed the Second Army, and it threw out of order the entire time-table of the whole German advance.

[1] The author permits himself to refer the reader to his book "The Wonder of War on Land" for a detailed story of the heroism of the defense of Liége.

From time to time, reports had leaked out that Germany possessed one tremendous war secret, one mighty engine of war which would gain her victory in spite of all that other nations could do. These siege guns were the long-dreaded war secret. They weighed 71 tons, were transported in four pieces, each piece requiring three enormous traction engines on caterpillar wheels to haul it, a thirteenth and still more massive traction engine assisting on the hills. The shells weighed more than three-quarters of a ton apiece, and were loaded with tri-nitro-toluol, known as TNT, the most powerful explosive known.

On August 10, General Leman had both his legs crushed by falling masses of concrete hurled in the air by a shell. He refused to leave his post. He was carried to a motor-car. He lived in it, slept in it, fought his forts from it. He withdrew to Fort Loncin, with 100 men, and defied the more than 100,000 Germans arrayed against him.

The siege guns crawled into place on August 13. Their action was decisive. Three shells blew Fort Loncin into fragments, two demolished Fort Boncelles. In the former twenty-one men were left alive, in the latter, eleven. General Leman was seriously wounded, but he recovered from his wounds and, later, was exchanged as a prisoner by Germany. In all the history of military warfare, there are few defences more gallant than that of the forts of Liége, and few figures in the World War more heroic than that of General Leman.

"It has seemed to me," said the Diplomat, when the Military Expert had finished, "that if Germany possessed these enormous 42-centimeter guns, she could have invaded the frontier of France directly and smashed the French

forts to pieces. At the beginning of the war, Verdun was of the same general pattern as Liége."

"You are entirely right," said the Military Expert. "Germany could have invaded France and reached Paris without the slightest difficulty — if she had possessed the courage. But she did not possess it. A bully is often a coward. It was the fear of defeat or at least of delay at the hands of the French which made Germany violate Belgium. The German High Command wanted to get its soldiers drunk with loot and slaughter before facing the hosts of France.

"Besides, it is to be remembered that the giant siege guns had never been tried against modern forts. They were an unknown factor. To stake the fate of an empire on the possible performances of a yet untried gun was too big a risk. Germany chose dishonor instead of daring — and reaped the penalty."

X

THE FIERY NIGHT OF CHARLEROI

THE advance guard of the First German Army had been given forty-eight hours in which to capture Liége. It had taken them ten days. The military results of this delay were incalculable. Most important of all, it prevented the First German Army from carrying out the original plan of seizing Brussels, Antwerp and the sea-coast, simultaneously with the advance on Namur. In order to protect the Second Army, von Kluck was compelled to swing the main part of his army southwards towards Namur. Only a small "parade" division was detached to make the triumphal entry into Brussels and to capture Antwerp. This small force was inadequate to carry out the whole maneuver which had been entrusted to the First Army, and as a consequence, even to the end of the war, the whole of the Belgian sea-coast was never captured.

During all this time, and especially during the falling back of the Belgian Army first to Louvain, then to Brussels and lastly to Antwerp, the Belgians had been scanning the horizon eagerly for British vessels bringing reinforcements. None came. No naval transports arrived at Ostend or Antwerp for the very good reason that they were arriving at Boulogne. England realized that the main German attack would be towards Paris, not towards Brussels, and that an Expeditionary Force would be of tenfold value if it were

working in direct action with the French Army. The first British transports arrived on August 9, when the Germans were still detained by the forts of Liége.

Owing to the gallantry of General Leman, the French Supreme Commander, Marshal Joffre, had time to choose his position for defence. He chose the strong strategic corner with Namur as the angle, for Namur, as well as being a powerfully fortified position in itself, was situated at the junction of the rivers Sambre and Meuse.

Marshal Joffre evidently argued that since Liége had held back the Germans for ten days, with only a small Belgian Army, undoubtedly Namur, with a strong French and British force, could withstand the Germans longer. This was false reasoning. Liége had held the Germans back only because the 42-centimeter siege guns were not available. The forts of Liége had not held out half an hour after the first big howitzer shell was fired. Furthermore, the Second Army, with which, as has been said, the siege train was connected, possessed thirty-two 28-centimeter howitzers, with a range of fire long enough to be able to take up position beyond the reach of the Namur fort guns.

With the example of Liége before him, von Bülow did not sacrifice his infantry against the forts of Namur. Instead, by sundown of August 20, his artillery was in place, and, von Kluck's army having swung down into line, von Bülow tried a few test shots on the forts of Namur to get the range. At nightfall the bombardment began. The Belgian guns were outranged, it was merely waste of ammunition to reply. The defenders of the forts waited in the trenches for the attack which never came. The howitzers sufficed. By dawn next morning, Namur had ceased to be a barrier. Technically, the forts did not fall until

August 23, but during those two days they possessed no military importance.

The extreme angle of Joffre's formation, then, was driven in, but the line itself was untouched. Charleroi now became the corner, held by the Fifth French Army under General Lanrezac. On his left wing, to the west, was the

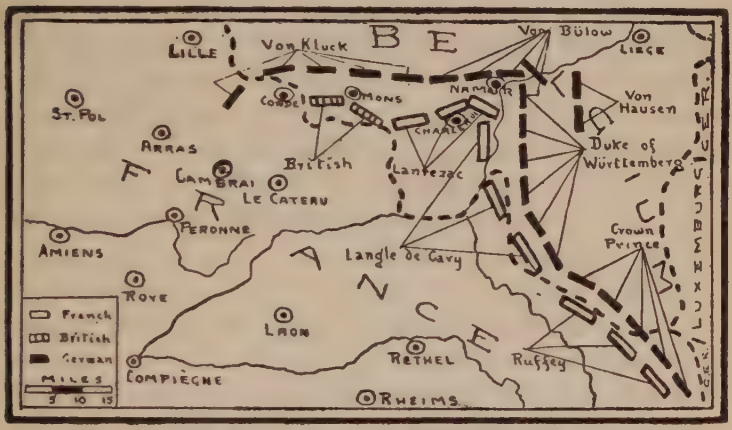

FIG. 12. THE FIRST CONTACT BETWEEN THE ARMIES

Typical German flanking strategy, enveloping the British line, typical French strategy of the "lozenge" with Namur as the corner. This sketch map shows also the defeat at Charleroi and the main points on the British retreat from Mons.

British Expeditionary Force, under Marshal Sir John French; on his right wing, to the south, was the Fourth French Army, under General Langle de Cary.

The actual numbers of the armies opposed at this Charleroi angle — the first joined battle of the war — are of importance. Opposite the British, who had 70,000 men, was von Kluck, with 250,000. Opposite the angle held by Lanrezac, with 120,000 men, was von Bülow, also with 250,000 men, and the siege train, perhaps 280,000 in all. Opposite de Cary, with 120,000 men, was the Duke of

Württemberg, with 250,000 men. In addition to this, there was an extra force, largely cavalry, of 86,000 men, under General von Hausen, awaiting the moment of attack to be hurled at any point in the Allied line that showed signs of weakening.

German military strategy favored a frontal mass attack to draw the whole fire of the enemy, while strong divisions, on either flank, were sent to surround the enemy and roll him up like a bundle. French military strategy generally consisted of the "lozenge," in which plan the armies are arranged in a formation resembling the bases of a baseball diamond, and, under attack, the foremost (second base) is devised to retreat, like a compressed spring, until it is back on the three supporting armies.[1]

Friday, August 21, was spent by the Germans in throwing out a wide flank westerly, to surround the British, and in bringing up the heavy artillery to the new Charleroi line.

At daybreak, the following morning, von Bülow attacked Charleroi in full force. The German handling, on this day, was masterly. By noon, von Bülow had driven across the Meuse, south of Lanrezac's position, and von Kluck had forced himself, like a wedge, between the French and the British. Lanrezac was on the point of annihilation. The whole strategic corner was in the process of being nipped off as with a pair of pincers. Lanrezac retreated in mad confusion, and, into this disorder, suddenly dashed von Hausen's two cavalry divisions.

By two o'clock in the afternoon of Aug. 22, the French Army was in complete rout. Moreover, von Kluck having crossed the Mons canal by the bridge at Thuin, communica-

[1] See "The Wonder of War on Land," by the same author.

tion between the French and the English was cut off. The telegraphic line from headquarters to the British force had also been destroyed by spies behind the lines. There was no way of sending information to the British Expeditionary Force that the whole corner had collapsed.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, the French rallied with Turco reinforcements, and a terrific artillery fire drove the Germans out of Charleroi. No sooner were they out, and the French in possession of the city again, than German artillery recommenced the bombardment and the French were driven out. Once more the French rallied, this time with the Zouaves at their head, and once more, after winning the town, they were driven back.

Just as Liége had clearly taught that modern forts cannot resist modern howitzers, so that bloody night in the streets of Charleroi taught, to both sides, that infantry, no matter how strong, cannot hold open ground against modern quick-firing and machine-gun fire. The French, though the enemy was two to one against them, drove the Germans back whenever there was a chance for cold steel, but the German heavy artillery was the superior.

By midnight, Charleroi was in flames, but what was left of the city remained in German hands. The rivers Sambre and Meuse had been crossed, and all night long the artillery lumbered over the captured bridges. Lanrezac's retreat, which began as little better than a flight, had saved the corner from being pinched off. He retreated on the flanking armies, according to Joffre's plan. It had taken two German armies only eighteen hours to win a decisive victory and to smash the first defended position that the Allies had established.

"Why do you suppose the Germans were able to break through so easily at Charleroi?" asked the War Correspondent. "Was Joffre's strategy at fault?"

"No," answered the Military Expert. "The element of surprise was the principal cause of the decisive defeat. The Allies had not expected to be confronted by more than one-half the number of men. They had, at that time, no efficient air craft for scouting purposes. Besides, they counted on the forts of Namur holding out longer and enabling reinforcements to arrive on the scene of action.

"There is no valid criticism of the strategy either of the Germans or of the French at Charleroi. The German plan was well-designed for the attack, the French was equally strong for the defense. The Germans had greater numbers, heavier artillery, the advantage that comes to the attacker in being able to choose his point of attack, and a thoroughly organized plan. Lanrezac's failure was twofold. The first was his inability to organize a fighting retreat, the second was his failure to warn the British. This latter error gave rise to the appalling loss of life of the next few days."

XI

THE FIGHTING RETREAT FROM MONS

OWING to the hurried flight of the Fifth French Army, the British Expeditionary Force, with but 70,000 men, was left alone and abandoned, facing von Kluck with 250,000 men. Moreover, being an expeditionary force, it was weak in heavy artillery, in which branch the German Army was especially strong. Still worse, the period of Friday and Saturday had given von Kluck time enough to detach two divisions for a wide sweep out to the westward. By this tactics, von Kluck planned to take the British on their western flank, while the section of his army which had crossed at Thuin, and aided in the French retreat, threatened the British eastern flank. These were the same enveloping tactics which had all but annihilated Lanrezac.

On this memorable Sunday morning, August 23, the British were quietly entrenching themselves, unconscious of disaster. Not until one o'clock in the afternoon did cavalry patrols come in with the news of a German advance through the woods. Naturally, without air craft, the British commander was unable to tell whether this was an advance guard skirmish or a heavy mass-attack.

Half-an-hour later the battle began, and by two o'clock, from the weight of the enemy's artillery, it was very evident to the British commanders that the main body of a powerful army confronted them. The first German in-

fantry mass-attack was made at half-past three. It failed to cross the little canal, which the British were defending, and fell back quickly.

Knowing the vast disproportion of numbers in favor of the Germans, it may seem strange that von Kluck did not force the position and pound the British line. Undoubtedly, he could have done so, but he was employing other tactics. He was engaging only three army corps to keep the British in play, while the rest of his force, to east and west, was encircling the British. With 250,000 against 70,000, von Kluck had men enough and to spare for this flanking effort to annihilate the British Expeditionary Force at one stroke.

Then, like a lightning flash, came a startling telegram to the British commander from Marshal Joffre. This message informed Sir John French that he was outnumbered more than three to one, that the Fifth French Army was no longer supporting his right, and that, at that very moment, he was in process of being flanked by the enemy on both sides.

Even while the British commander was reading this telegram, the Germans attacked in mass-formation again. But infantry rushes across a canal can only be made on bridges, and no troops in the world could oppose the men of the British Expeditionary Force, who were not citizen soldiers, like the Germans and French, but "regulars," veterans of many wars. Word was passed to make several small counter-attacks, in order that the Germans might believe that the British were still ignorant of the disaster at Charleroi.

At three o'clock of the morning of the next day August 24, long before daylight, the British were silently called to arms and the "Fighting Retreat" began. There were, on this day, and at this hour, 80,000 British on the Mons

Canal: the First Army Corps under General Haig, the Second Corps under General Smith-Dorrien and 10,000 cavalry, under General Allenby, afterwards to become famous in the Palestine campaign. Against this force von Kluck had 50,000 men, already encircling the western flank, 150,000 men engaged in a frontal attack, and 50,000 men encircling the eastern flank, while von Hausen's cavalry of 86,000 men and the left wing of von Bülow's army, numbering 100,000 men, were curling back from pursuit of Lanrezac to nip the British in the rear. The odds, therefore, were 436,000 against 80,000 and the larger force had all the advantage of position.

The retreat began by a furious British counter-attack at Binche. This was a deliberate sacrifice of men to cover the retreat. Few returned alive from that charge. The British cavalry also assaulted on the western flank. It was not yet daylight.

Column by column the British deployed on the return road. There would have been little chance for a volunteer army, then. But these were the regulars, and every detail moved with absolute precision. There was no disorder, no rout, no confusion. Von Kluck followed savagely, and von Hausen struck hard. But each German attack was met by a determined rear guard action. Each rear guard held its post until the last man was down. The British commander knew that even though every officer and man in his command were slain, von Kluck must not be allowed to pierce through. Night found the British on the Bavai-Maubeuge line, under cover of the guns from the fortress of Maubeuge. One tenth of the British Expeditionary Force had been slain in these two days.

Only four hours' sleep were allowed and the retreat be-

gan anew. This day, Tuesday, August 25, was a terrible struggle. Men and horses dropped dead from exhaustion, but the British Field Marshal refused to allow a halt. Haig and Smith-Dorrien gave back grimly, and at every little stream, every bridge, every hill, men who had been chosen to die held back the foe, for an hour, if they could, if not, for five minutes at least. Late in the evening, a German advance guard was hurled forward and the British were being severely handled, when, out of the night, appeared a few companies of the straggling Fifth French Army. Supposing that their appearance revealed a reuniting of the French and British lines, the Germans drew back.

At 10 o'clock that night, marching still, the First Corps, under Haig, reached Landrecies. The men put up barbed wire defences and established machine-gun positions, then lay down to sleep. Before eleven o'clock, a whole German division charged. Staggering from sleep and fatigue, the British drove back the attackers, and fell in weariness to sleep on the ground where they had fought. It was then midnight. At three o'clock the next morning, the officers roused the men again. Only seasoned veterans could endure such a fearful strain.

Before daybreak, then, on August 26, the British stood to arms, many of the soldiers having to be lifted to their feet. Staggering, stumbling, falling, the retreat continued, ever and always parties of "men chosen to die" being detached to fight the rear guard actions which might save the army but would leave new clumps of British graves. Yet, even at the cost of such a steady leak of heroic life-blood, to escape battle was impossible.

At eleven o'clock that morning, the Germans caught this

Photos from Brown Bros.

Marshal Joseph Joffre;
French commander-in-chief and head of the Supreme War Council.

Gen. Armando Diaz;
Commander-in-chief of all the Italian Armies in the field.

Marshal Ferdinand Foch;
Generalissimo of all the Allied armies on the Western Front.

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig;
Commander-in-chief of the British armies on the western front.

Field Marshal Sir Edmund Allenby;
Commander-in-chief of all the British armies operating in Palestine and Egypt.

ALLIED MILITARY LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR.

toppling remnant of an army, which, indeed, they had been pinching into a compulsory halt since dawn. One and a half British corps, at the last gasp of exhaustion, faced five German corps in a savage frontal attack.

At one point in the line, the Prussian Guards Cavalry Division of 30,000 men, charged a single British infantry brigade of 1,200 men, and was thrown back with heavy loss and in absolute disorder. This gave a brief breathing-space, a sorely needed one, for, at about the same time, two entire battalions, the Scotch Gordons and the Irish Munster Fusiliers, had been surrounded and annihilated. Between noon and one o'clock the battle increased in intensity, but by some incredible tenacity the British held their lines until half-past three in the afternoon. This battle became known as "the glorious stand of Le Cateau."

It cost the British 5,000 men, but the German losses were heavier. At half-past three a forced retirement was decided, in order, as Field-Marshal French himself phrased it, "that complete annihilation be avoided." How the British officers succeeded in extricating their men from that death-trap is a military marvel. For four hours, annihilation was a possibility of each succeeding minute. But, by dusk, the haggard spectres — still fighting — dragged themselves back into touch with a French cavalry division under General Sordêt. At about the same time, General d'Amade, with two reserve divisions, swung hard on von Kluck's right. That night, the British slept. Covered by Sordêt and d'Amade, the British marched doggedly back on the 27th and 28th, not fighting now, and took up a position on the Noyon-Chauny-La Fère line.

Meantime, the Fifth French Army, under Lanrezac, had been retreating before von Bülow. Its task was far easier

than that of the British, because it was all the time in touch with the Fourth French Army on its right, and because it started on the retreat thirty-six hours in advance of the British.

In a counter-action at Charleville, on August 25, the French punished their pursuers heavily, but disregarding the loss of life, von Bülow stormed on. The French had to flee, and, since the beginning of the retreat had been a rout, disorder continued. German advance cavalry squadrons inflicted terrible damage.

Nor was the situation along the eastern line much better. On August 25 the garrison at Toul was driven out, and on August 27, the German Crown Prince, who had been held back by the necessity of besieging Longwy, swept through the line of French frontier fortifications and hurled his armies toward Verdun. The whole French line was cracking and falling back. However, it did not break.

The time was now ripe for a counter-attack. The Fifth French Army, reinforced and placed under the command of General d'Esperey (in place of General Lanrezac), and acting in cooperation with the Sixth French Army under Manoury, on August 29 attacked heavily at St. Quentin and at Guise. The Germans, wearied with the long pursuit, suffered a serious repulse. This gave opportunity for the main retreat to proceed in a less hurried fashion, the British now having reached a point on the Aisne near Compiègne. The next day, a German charge at Rethel met with disaster. (See Fig. 12.)

By Sept 1, it became clear that the whole German plan of breaking through Joffre's strategical "lozenge" had failed. The retreats from Charleroi and Mons, hasty though it had been on the French side and desperately gal-

lant on the British, had been kept within the limits of Marshal Joffre's defensive, and, though the Germans were steadily advancing, they still faced an unbroken line.

Moreover, the German line of communication was lengthening all the while and the German troops had been constantly on the march. Only a small proportion of the French troops and few of the reserves had as yet been brought into play. They were fresh and ready.

The time-table of the German High Command had contemplated the capture of Paris in two weeks. Four weeks had passed and the outer defences of Paris had not even yet been reached. The Belgian defence of Liége and the British rear guard actions from Mons had barred the way.

"You really believe," queried the Diplomat, "that those four days after the Night of Charleroi were so decisive?"

"I am convinced," replied the Military Expert, "that they were essential to the saving of France. If it had not been for the extraordinary doggedness and organization of those 80,000 British regulars, there would have been nothing to stop the Germans from marching on Boulogne. Von Kluck had plenty of men for such a maneuver, but, in order to do so, he would have been compelled to thin out the line between himself and von Bülow. He did not dare to do this as long as a British force — no matter how small — remained intact. He could not run the risk of allowing the British a chance to break through and cut him off from his base of supply.

"Remember, Gentlemen, a modern army is absolutely dependent on a constant stream of food and munitions. An army that is cut off is compelled to surrender, even to a smaller force, because it has neither shells to feed its guns

nor food to feed its soldiers. Throughout the Fighting Retreat, von Kluck was absolutely compelled to keep closely linked with von Bülow, and this prevented any westward sweep by Germany. The actions of the British Expeditionary Force enabled Joffre to choose the field for the decisive battle of the war. He chose the line of the Marne."

XII

THE BATH OF BLOOD IN THE VOSGES

MARSHAL JOFFRE'S selection of the Namur-Charleroi corner — continued the Military Expert — must not be over-emphasized in considering his strategy as a whole. It was only the first point of his defense, of which Maubeuge was the second line and the Marne the third. The French Commander-in-Chief, however, was well aware of the strategical principle that, in many cases, an offense can form the strongest defense. Therefore, while he defended in the north, he attacked in the east. Joffre's defense at Charleroi should be correlated with his Alsace-Lorraine campaign.

There are only four gaps in the long line of rugged country which forms the Belgium-Luxemburg-France frontier. These are near Liége, Longwy, Nancy and Belfort respectively. The two northern gaps, Liége and Longwy, were used by Germany to invade Belgium and France; the two southern gaps, near Nancy and Belfort, were used by France to invade Germany, or, more correctly, the then German provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Between these latter two gaps, the rugged country rises to the heights of the Vosges Mountains, a natural barrier impassable to modern heavy artillery.

On the French side, the frontier was protected by the four fortresses of Verdun, Toul, Epinal and Belfort. On

the German side, it was protected by the fortresses of Diedenhofen, Metz, Strassburg and Neu Breisach. The first two fortresses of each group commanded the pass north of the Vosges, which leads into Lorraine, the last two of each group were the fortresses which commanded the southern pass, into Alsace, known as the Gap of Belfort.

The alignment of the armies in this campaign needs to be displayed. Beginning from the south, the First French Army, under General Dubail, covered the Alsace Pass, the Second French Army, under General Castelnau, covered the Lorraine Pass; the Third French Army, under General Ruffey, covered as far north as Longwy; the Fourth French Army, under General de Cary, joined the right wing of the Fifth Army which was to hold Charleroi. Facing these armies, in turn, were the German Eighth Army, under General von Deimling; the Seventh German Army, under Marshal von Heeringen; the Sixth German Army, under the Bavarian Crown Prince, the Fourth German Army under the German Crown Prince, who, in turn, supported the left wing of the Second German Army, under von Bülow, menacing Charleroi.

The French opened their offensive as promptly as had the Germans. On Wednesday, August 5, the day after the beginning of the war, French troops invaded the then German territory of Alsace-Lorraine. They were hailed everywhere as rescuers, not as invaders. On August 7, a French brigade occupied Altkirch, and on August 8, after a sharp fight with the garrison, occupied the important point of Mulhausen. Viewed as a political measure, the occupation of Mulhausen was of value, but from the military viewpoint this halt was both dangerous and unwise.

This part of the campaign was seriously mismanaged. Dubail sent forward for the invasion an advance force of only 20,000 men, though he had nearly 200,000 men at his disposal. A reconnoissance in force requires mobility. Dubail rested at Mulhausen to receive the plaudits of the populace, regardless of the German menace, though the fortress of Neu Breisach was only fifteen miles away to the north, the fortress of Basle ten miles to the south-east and the fortress of Banzenheim, six miles to the east.

Another force of 20,000 men had been sent to take possession of the minor passes on the Vosges heights. This was a legitimate venture and the work was well and thoroughly done. Defensively considered, it was important. Whatever opinion may be held of the wisdom of Joffre's Alsace-Lorraine strategy, there is no question as to the weakness of Dubail's tactics of a weak advance without moving up any support.

The French speedily paid the penalty of this mishandling. Von Deimling had only waited to find out the force and dispositions of the enemy, and on August 9, in one whirlwind attack, he drove the French out of Mulhausen. The French fought bravely, far too bravely considering their numbers, for they were slaughtered by thousands. Retreating precipitately, they entrenched hastily at Altkirch, near the border.

Dubail was promptly dismissed from his command and General Pau appointed in his place, Pau being one of the strongest military leaders of the French Army. He had, at one time, been named as a possible Commander-in-Chief, the post afterwards given to Joffre.

While this disastrous attempt had caused a wastage of time and of life in Alsace, the Second French Army, under

Castelnau, had been advancing slowly in Lorraine. Castelnau moved cautiously, consolidating his gains as he went. He knew that it was essential, for the success of the campaign as a whole, that his army should effect a junction with the First Army on the eastward slope of the Vosges. He knew, also, that it was in the highest degree dangerous to

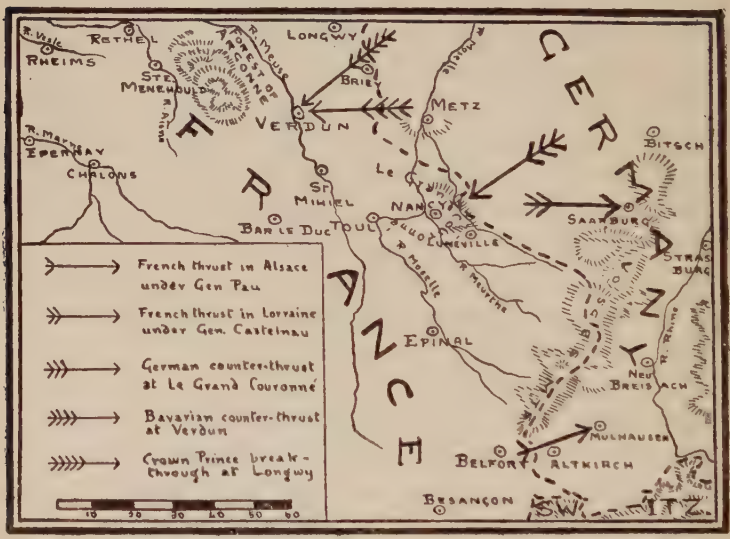

FIG. 13. FRANCE'S TWO DISASTROUS INVASIONS OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

Sketch map shows also the Battle Le Grand Couronné, where the Kaiser prepared to make the triumphal entry of Nancy — which he never made.

advance far into German territory until Dubail had reduced the fortress of Neu Breisach and swung to the north. The huge fortress of Metz lay not far to the north of him, and Castelnau had no intention of allowing himself to be cut off.

The Lorraine advance, therefore, was delayed until August 15, by which time Dubail had been replaced by

Pau. By August 16 Castelnau was in force at Avricourt, and on August 17, the date of the forward move, he menaced the important railroad junction of Saarburg from the north, west and south simultaneously. On August 18 Saarburg was taken and on August 19, Castelnau pushed on to Morhange.

The First Army, in the south, under its new commander, had also advanced soberly and with judgment. Pau captured Thann on the 17th, St. Balise on the 18th and Dannemarie on the 19th. Early the following morning, Mulhausen was recaptured, and the French commander commenced to throw up strong intrenchments on the line from Mulhausen to Col de Busang, a hill commanding one of the minor passes of the Vosges.

Vengeance was not long in coming. The Germans had waited only until they could strike with crushing force. On August 20, the day when the German siege train halted before Namur in the north, on that day the Alsace-Lorraine advance met disaster.

Three German armies struck simultaneously. The veteran strategist von Heeringen struck upwards from the south, the Crown Prince of Bavaria smashed frontally with a gigantic massed formation and the heavy artillery train from Metz moved ponderously down from the north.

The Battle of Metz, fought on August 20, was a battle of the old type. It was fought in open order. Castelnau was outnumbered three to one, and the Germans were immeasurably the superior in artillery. It was a typical German smash to victory. In two hours the Pont-a-Mousson line — the chief line of defence — was pounded into pieces. An hour later, the French line broke at Château Salins. In one French division, alone, ten batteries of guns and

9,000 men were taken prisoners in an hour and a half of fighting.

The next day, August 21, Castelnau retreated to the frontier, the Germans in close pursuit. On the 22nd, the Germans crossed the frontier into France, driving the French before them, but unable to use any of their flanking tactics. On the 23rd, the important town of Lunéville was taken. Castlenau, to save the great and dominating city of Nancy, took up his position on a surrounding ring of hills known as Le Grand Couronné of Nancy. Here the French made an undaunted stand.

On the evening of that same crucial August 20, Pau, in the south, heard the details of the disaster in Lorraine. Too wise a tactician to run useless risks, he withdrew at once from Mulhausen, a place ill-fitted for strategical defense. The First Army fell back on Altkirch, and Pau threw the whole force of his troops into the construction of strong defenses at Col de Busang, so strong, indeed, that in the four years of war that followed, the Germans never succeeded in capturing it.

Then came the news of the Fiery Night of Charleroi, together with the fall of Namur, the isolation of the British and the beginning of the Fighting Retreat. This buried all hope of a counter-offensive which Pau was preparing to launch. Joffre cancelled all advance plans looking toward the capture of the valley of the Rhine. Every soldier was needed for the defense of Paris and Verdun.

Compared with the vast actions that occurred later in the World War, the Battle of Metz was short. Regarded as a piece of military tactics, it was decisive. The French advance into Germany had taken two weeks. It was broken in two hours. Not only had the invaders been driven back,

but the war had been carried into France and French towns taken. The French offensive in Alsace-Lorraine had proved an utter and disastrous failure.

The Diplomat nodded his head gravely as the Military Expert finished.

"I am glad," he said, "to hear such importance laid on the Battle of Metz. From the diplomatic point of view, it has seemed to me that it had consequences even more serious than those my friend the Expert has described.

"The Battle of Tannenberg in the east, and the Battle of Metz in the west were the two great actions which convinced the German people that their army was invincible. Though the war had lasted less than three weeks, the German people had learned that Belgium was occupied, the British Expeditionary Force decimated, the French were in flight, and Joffre's Alsace-Lorraine invasion had met with swift and bloody reprisal. The fortresses of Liége, Namur and Maubeuge had gone up like straw in a fire.

"These early victories intoxicated the German people. After such successes, any subsequent failure were looked upon only as a check. It was this mood of over-confidence, which changed the German temper to fury when it was disillusioned, later. The first three weeks of the war crystallized German arrogance into an obsession, the obsession of the German super-man. It took four years to subdue this mania. Such, as I conceive it, was the terrible psychological effect of the Battle of Metz, an importance far greater than its military import. It caused the German to believe himself invincible and thus drove the belief in war deeper into the hearts of the people."

XIII

DEFENCE OF LE GRAND COURONNÉ

THE German victory of the Battle of Metz, on August 20, the equally striking crash through Charleroi on August 22, and the retreat of the French and British to the Aisne, which was reached on August 28, brought the Germans within striking distance of Paris. The counter-attacks of September 1 and 2, while productive of small gains, did not affect the general situation.

The Kaiser's armies were closing down upon Paris. Accordingly, on September 1, the seat of the French government was removed to Bordeaux, official declaration of that fact being made September 3 and President Poincaré leaving on the latter day. This did not so much betray French fears of the capture of the capital, as fears that a partial investment of the capital might make government administration difficult.

Strategically considered, Paris was a tough nut to crack. The great world-capital on the Seine possesses few natural military advantages. She is protected neither by broad rivers nor encircling mountains. She lies in a basin, and the surrounding low hills are not military obstacles of any great importance.

Consequently, Paris had been fortified as a "ring fortress." There were thirty-one first class forts and more than as many secondary forts and batteries. But, with the

news of events at Liége, these defences had been rendered a hundred-fold more formidable by a series of movable defences. Trenches and barbed-wire entanglements of the most complete order had been constructed by the hands of rich and poor working in patriotic accord, houses had been voluntarily razed which might interfere with the line of fire from defending batteries, and the suburban railway systems were organized so as to be able to carry flying bodies of troops from point to point. The ring of the outer forts had a circumference of nearly a hundred miles, extending thirty miles east and west from Fort de Chelles to Fort de Marly; and twenty-three miles north to south from Fort de Demont to Fort de Paliseau.

To invest or surround the fortified area of Paris would require not less than half a million men. To maintain a line of communication for such an immense number, encamped in circular formation, would need a quarter of a million more. If Germany attempted to besiege Paris and spread 750,000 men over the necessary area, the rest of her battle-line would be so thinned that the French could easily break through at any point they chose and sever the German line of communications. To besiege Paris was a practical military impossibility. France had learned her lesson in 1871. She was not to be caught into a siege, again.

It has been shown that, owing to the rebuff at Liége, French and British reinforcements had been given time to concentrate. A swing to the westward of Paris was impossible to von Kluck, for, if he attempted such dangerous though tempting tactics, he would lose touch with von Bülow and leave a gap in the German line. That meant annihilation.

The German High Command had but two alternatives: either to force Paris by a direct frontal attack, or to narrow their line and strike southward, between Paris and Verdun. The latter was the soundest strategy, since success would open a way to the fertile interior of France.

Since the hundred-mile circle of the forts of Paris forbade a flanking movement to the west, the invaders turned their attention to a flanking or enveloping movement in the east. The success of the Battle of Metz, and the manner in which Castelnau had been ejected from Lorraine, gave the Germans hope that they could pierce in, south of Verdun, between the fortresses of Epinal and Toul. There lay the city of Nancy, and the sole defense of Nancy, at that time, was the army of Castelnau, perched on the ring of hills known as Le Grand Couronné. The line was a strong one, twenty miles in length, from Pont-a-Mousson on the north, through the plateau of Amance, over the forest of Champenoux, and thence to Dombasle and the Forest of Vitremont. The gap, between Charmes and Mirecourt, was left wide open to the invaders as a temptation.

Castelnau had reached Le Grand Couronné on August 23. He spent the next ten days digging trenches, placing artillery, establishing machine-gun nests, erecting barbed-wire defenses and the like, while the artillery transport worked night and day. To the vast supplies of munitions which were dragged up to the summits of those hills much of Castelnau's success must be attributed.

Although the Germans were in force at least three to one, they lingered over the attack. It was evident that they were planning to strike at both ends of the line at the same time. This over-caution was a fortunate decision for the French, for if the Crown Prince of Bavaria

and the Metz siege train had attacked either at Le Grand Couronné or at Troyon, about August 26 or 27, as they could have done, Verdun could have been invested and a permanent road opened from Metz.

The long-threatened Bavarian thunderbolt was loosed on September 4. German orders were that the heights must be taken at any cost, for if Le Grand Couronné could be stormed, then the Germans would have ideal positions — those of Amance and Champenoux — wherefrom to bombard the town of Nancy. Moreover, if the heights were gained and held, the invaders could afford to drive forward a salient into the Charmes-Mirecourt gap between the forts of Epinal to the south and Toul to the north. If this move could be done successfully, then both Toul and Verdun (to the north-east) would be flanked at the same time. (See Fig. 13.)

Although the attackers were three to one, such numerical superiority was none too much for mass attack on a fortified natural position. Moreover, by reason of the elevation of the ground, Castelnau could watch the operations of his enemy. There was lacking to the Bavarian troops the element of surprise, a prime aid in attack.

The Germans were simply driven to the slaughter. The French 75-mm. guns, which proved to be the best piece of light artillery in the war, created terrible havoc. First thousands, then tens of thousands of men, charged up Le Grand Couronné. They fell like grass beneath a reaper's scythe.

Next day, September 5, rivers of blood flowed where rivulets had flowed the day before. Each minute, yes, each second, brought its harvest of death. The Bavarians won Pont-a-Mousson, but could not gain a footing on the

Amance plateau, not though they spent their soldiers in absolute and utter recklessness to do it.

It cannot be said that the German commanders were in error. Had Le Grand Couronné been won, it would have been worth — from a military point of view — all the lives it had taken to win it. But the only Germans that effected a lodgment on those slopes were the dead and wounded. Bodies piled up in such heaps that the succeeding waves of iron-gray infantry found difficulty in climbing over the walls of corpses and of dying.

Then came a most dramatic incident. On the afternoon of the 6th, in the middle of a succession of furious charges, the Kaiser, in a gorgeous white uniform, appeared on a hill near by, to direct a " final " charge, and, incidentally, to design an Arch of Triumph to be built in the street of Nancy for his proud entry a day or two later.

Under the eyes of their War Lord, an ocean of men swept up against Le Grand Couronné, deliberately hurling themselves against the steepest point of all, the Grand Mont d'Amance. It was spectacular, it was magnificent — but it was carnage, vain and horrible. As waves fall back from a granite cliff, so those iron-gray waves of men collapsed under the steady hail of bullet, bomb and shell. There was pity in the French gunners' eyes, there was none in the guns.

The afternoon sun clouded, and the rain came down. With draggled plumes the Kaiser rode away, never to pass under the Nancy Arch of Triumph, nor any other Arch of Triumph south of the Marne.

On the 7th the village of Champenoux was lost, the French suffering heavily. On the 8th there was no abatement of the battle fury. The 9th was peace, both sides

were busy, burying their dead, the truce being asked by the Germans. Shells screamed again next day and mass-attacks began. There was not an inch of all those slopes that was not slippery with blood. But Le Grand Couronné held firm, though the defenders were spent and few.

A mixed regiment was brought up from Toul to reinforce the line, but, as a French writer stated: "our soldiers, hungry, harassed, haggard, could scarcely stand upright, and marched like specters. Visibly, we were at the last breath, crushed by superior numbers. We could hold out only a few hours more. And then, O Prodigy! calm fell, on the 12th, upon the whole of the stricken field. The enemy gave up, retreated for good, abandoned everything, even Champenoux, so frantically contested, and the entire front he had occupied. He fell back in dense columns, without even a pretence of resistance."

Meanwhile Fort Troyon, near St. Mihiel, commanding the Spada road, eighteen miles south of Verdun, had become a second Liége. The commandant, on September 7, had been out shooting partridges. That night, 305-mm. shells fell heavily upon the fort. Seven guns were put out of action the first day and the fort was in ruins. Still, from the ruins, guns still shrieked defiance; still, from the outliers, the 75's rattled their death song. The Metz garrison, which had advanced confidently, found itself barred by this small fort. Infantry assaults at night were discovered with searchlights. The Germans demanded surrender, and the commandant refused in his own name "and in the name of the last French soldier left alive in the fort." It held out to the 13th, when reinforcements arrived, and the Metz garrison army retreated stolidly.

What, then, had happened to cause the Crown Prince of

Bavaria to resign Champenoux and give back from Le Grand Couronné when it was within his grasp? What caused the retreat of the heavy guns from Fort Troyon? The answer was the same in both cases — the Battle of the Marne.

XIV

THE TAXICAB ARMY OF PARIS

ON the same day that the Bavarian assault had been launched on Le Grand Couronné, September 4, air scouts brought word to Joffre that the First German Army, under von Kluck, was ceasing its encircling movement and was wheeling to the southeastward. This revealed the German plan. As has been said, the Teuton high command had only two alternatives, a frontal attack on Paris or a pierce-through somewhere along the line between Paris and Verdun. Von Kluck's move showed that the latter strategy had been chosen. This fell in with Joffre's original plan, which was to make the line of the Marne and Ourcq the third and main line of defense.

Both sides being thus aware of the approximate location of the eventful struggle, which both sides realized would be the crucial battle of the war, the French and German High Commands respectively began to maneuver for position.

There was one breathless prelude, a swift and surprising mêlée between the Sixth French Army, under General Manoury, and the First German Army, under von Kluck. It brought Paris into sudden danger, the peril being narrowly averted by the Taxicab Army, supporting the Ragged Legion of Paris. Though in no sense a part of the Battle of the Marne, it had a vital effect upon it.

Learning from aviation scouts that von Kluck was wheel-

ing southward, and knowing that this point of the line was weakly held by the depleted British Expeditionary Force, which had not yet recovered from the ghastly Fighting Retreat, Manoury took the offensive. It was primarily a feint for the purpose of checking von Kluck's southward advance. Beginning as an artillery duel, the first couple of hours brought surprising results to both sides. Von Kluck found that Manoury's army was stronger than he supposed — it was being re-enforced hourly from Paris, and Manoury found that the German heavy artillery, in open-air siege work, was far superior to the French.

The immediate result was that von Kluck halted the advance of his left wing, in order to strengthen the right, which Manoury had engaged. At the same time, Manoury learned from air scouts that von Kluck's army was doubling back so fast that he would speedily be outnumbered. At midnight, General Gallieni, in command of the defences of Paris, commandeered every motor-bus, taxicab and private automobile in the city. Reserves were gathered hastily from every point, and with men piled inside and hanging to the outside, 70,000 re-enforcements reached Manoury by 9 o'clock. The impromptu force lacked artillery, for ordnance cannot be packed into a taxicab. Machine-guns, however, could and were.

On Sunday, August 6, Manoury struck in earnest to turn von Kluck's right flank, using General Lamaze's reserve corps for his right, the Seventh Corps for his left. For a couple of hours the advance was swift, then the German line stood firm on the west bank of the Ourcq. Fighting was desperate, but the French could make no material gain. Next morning the pressure was again exerted, but von Kluck, instead of allowing himself to be flanked, had thrown

his Ninth Corps to flank and rear of the French left. The flanker was being flanked. Von Kluck struck heavily at this left wing, forcing it back in horseshoe shape. The French right wing held.

On this same day, Monday, September 7, the fortress of Maubeuge fell, releasing more troops to von Kluck. Realizing that reserves were coming up, he struck yet harder with his left wing, crumpling Manoury still closer. On the evening of Tuesday, September 8, the French army was almost encircled.

Again the taxicab transport was brought into play, and Joffre sent up the Fourth Corps, also known as the Ragged Legion, a gallant group of volunteers feverishly requisitioned by General Gallieni. This legion strengthened the extreme French left, but none too soon, for, almost at the same moment, a German reserve corps, still further outflung by von Kluck, outflanked the new flanking Ragged Legion. Manoury was caught in the same pincers that he had prepared for von Kluck. Inevitable disaster stared the French left in the face.

Had the Ragged Legion failed to arrive as a taxicab army, nothing could have saved the French Seventh Corps. It had fought gallantly and with fury, it had outfaced twice its numbers and four to five times its weight of artillery. It had drawn upon itself the full force of von Kluck, reinforced by reserves. It had held its ground beyond Meaux, well to the outside of Paris. But it was doomed.

Then, on the morning of the 10th, when Manoury expected nothing better than the most stubborn holding of an impossible position as many hours as human endurance could survive, dawn rose on the fleeing Germans. The red tide of battle ebbed back from the shattered and blasted

countryside, unburied dead lay in heaps, piles of abandoned ammunition and supplies bespoke the haste with which von Kluck had retired. And, on the heels of the rout, came to the soldiers of Manoury's army the great and glorious news of the Victory of the Marne. As, under Castelnau, the French right had held Le Grand Couronné until almost the last moment of despair, so, under Manoury, the French left had looked annihilation in the face, but had not given way. The courage and the tenacity of the two extreme ends of the line allowed the victorious tactics of the centre. The glory pertained to all.

XV

THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

THE most important of all the battles of the Great War, the Battle of the Marne — continued the Military Expert — depended on strategy of action rather than on strategy of position. Yet the line taken up by Joffre possessed great natural strength. It was one of the most historic battlegrounds of France. Napoleon had known it and used it well. It depends for its strength on the Ourcq, a tributary of the Marne, partly encircling Paris; on the Marne itself; on the marshes of St. Gond; on the plateau of Champagne behind; thence to the Argonne forest, and the heights around Verdun; bending thence south by Toul, Epinal and Belfort.

On Sunday, September 6, the armies commenced to line up for the decisive action. On the western wing was the First German Army, under von Kluck: then the Second German, under von Bülow; then von Hausen's army, reenforced by two Saxon corps; then the Prussian Guard which fought as an independent command, but under von Hausen's direction; then the Third German, under the Duke of Württemberg; then the Fourth German, under the German Crown Prince; and, still hammering at Le Grand Couronné, the Fifth German, under the Crown Prince of Bavaria. Opposite von Kluck was the Sixth French, under Manoury; behind him the Paris garrison, under Gallieni;

then the British, strongly re-enforced, under French, but to the rear and in reserve; then the Fifth French, under d'Esperey, facing von Bülow; then the Seventh French, under Foch, facing von Hausen; then the Fourth French, under de Cary, facing the Duke of Württemberg; then the Third French, under Sarrail, facing the Crown Prince of Germany, while the Second French, under Castelnau, still held Le Grand Couronné. The First French Army, at the Gap of Belfort, holding the Col de Busang corner, and facing Marshal von Heeringen, had no part in the great battle.

In point of numbers, the French had the advantage. This was due mainly to the new big army of reserve, Foch's army, which held the post of honor in the middle of the line and was designed to act as a rebounding spring. Besides, German losses at the advance into France had been heavy in proportion to the French, for the attack is always more costly than the defense.

Still further, the Germans had been compelled to leave behind a considerable force of men to occupy Belgium and the points in northern France which had been taken, also to establish and keep open the Lines of Communication without which a modern army is useless. Yet again, the fall of Lemberg at the hands of the Russians had caused the Germans to send two corps to the eastern front, weakening von Hausen's army. The odds were five to four in favor of the French, and, besides, they had the advantage of position.

The first point in Joffre's strategy was the attempt to flank von Kluck. It failed and failed seriously, but it kept von Kluck from moving quickly to the southward as was required by the German battle plan.

The second point was Joffre's request to the British that they should feel out von Kluck's left wing, and, if possible,

decoy him forward in a direction a little west of south. Many writers, not understanding the maneuver, have blamed the British for not advancing toward the Marne on that Sunday. Such was not their work. They acted as a decoy. The advance came later.

It is important, nay, vital, to see where this strategy led. These two maneuvers compelled von Kluck westward, his northern wing being tempted by Manoury, his southern wing decoyed by the British. Both the Allied armies seemed like ripe plums ready to drop into the mouth. The annihilation of either would have been a triumph for von Kluck. He allowed himself to be tempted.

Now, the main German attack would be southward. That was clear. But, after the attack was launched, the form it would take must depend largely on the strategy of the defenders, who had the advantage of position. Joffre, seeing that von Kluck was being led westward, allowed the main battle to swing southeastward, thus steadily thinning the German line, and especially weakening von Bülow.

Reducing the battle to its simplest terms, and eliminating complicating factors, it may be said that on this Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, de Cary, Sarrail and Castelnau held firm. The fighting had been furious and deadly, but the Germans gained no foothold in the Argonne Forest, at Verdun, nor on Le Grand Couronné.

It had been planned by the German High Command that von Kluck and von Bülow should make a joint attack at the corner southeast of Paris held by the British, believed to be the weakest point in the line. But von Kluck's right was engaged with Manoury and his left was feeling out the British. As for von Bülow, whenever he reached out with his right wing to try and flank d'Esperey, he ran into the

upcurving right wing of the British, which had received far heavier re-enforcements than the Germans knew. Not finding von Kluck's support as strong as he expected, von Bülow prudently retired slowly to strengthen his position. By Tuesday, the Second German Army was back again across the Marne.

Thus von Kluck was being decoyed away, von Bülow

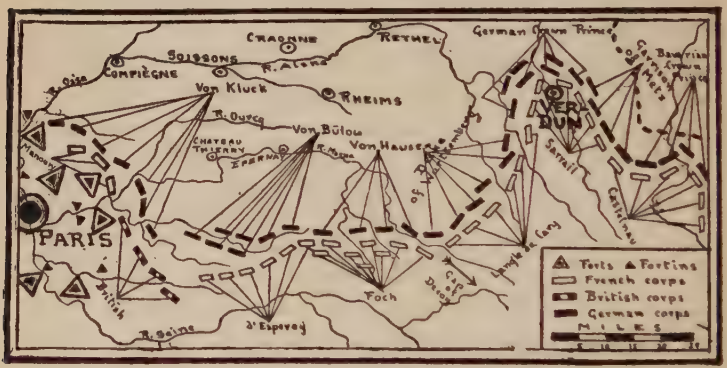

FIG. 14. THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE, FOURTH DAY

Note especially the decoy plans of Manoury and the British, drawing Von Kluck away to the westward, also the gaps of decoy established on Foch's right through which Von Hausen drove, thinning his line and making a weak point through which Foch drove his left wing, winning the battle and endangering the whole German line.

was taking up a strong position and, on the other end of the line, the Germans had made no advances. With this much of the field clear, it will be easy to show what happened with von Hausen's troops, facing Foch's army, in whose hands lay the responsibility of the decisive stroke.

Foch, with 300,000 men, all fresh, none of them having taken part in any previous engagement of the war, with complete batteries and an unusually large number of 75's, faced von Hausen, who had only 225,000 men, a large part

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Woodrow Wilson;
President of the United States.

Raymond Poincaré;
President of the French Republic.

King Albert of Belgium.

King George V of England.

King Victor Emanuel III of Italy.

RULERS OF PRINCIPAL ALLIED WARRING COUNTRIES.

of his force being cavalry, and with lighter artillery than any other part of the German Army.

Yet, almost at the very first shock, Foch gave way. His line bent like a piece of soft wire. Von Hausen, scarcely able to believe his good fortune, hit still harder next day, Monday, September 7. Foch's army sagged back still further. On Tuesday, September 8, it seemed as though the Seventh French Army were in terrible plight, for its right (eastern) wing was swinging back, apparently with no force of resistance. D'Esperey lent Foch an extra corps to protect his left.

In order to understand this maneuver, and its results on the morrow, it is most notable and significant that, contrary to all rules of tactics, de Cary, with the Fourth French Army, did not try to help Foch, nor did he bend his own line back to meet him. Also, it may be pointed out that the extra army corps was added to Foch's left, which was already holding strongly, rather than to his right, which seemed to be in difficulties. In view of the nature of the ground, it is evident that this whole maneuver was a decoy.

An illustration may help to make this clear. Suppose, in a wall, there is a locked swinging door, and that door be forced partly open. The lock being broken, the strength of the door will rest in its hinges. The extra army corps lent by d'Esperey was a hinge to Foch's swinging door.

Foch's Seventh Army, then, was strong at its union with d'Esperey, but when Wednesday morning dawned, the right wing had fallen so far back, like a door ajar, that it left a gap nearly ten miles wide between itself and the left wing of de Cary's army. This gap, be it noted, was directed easterly, not westerly.

Bursting with eagerness to be the first to pierce the French

line, von Hausen hurled his men toward this gap, ignoring the fact that, in doing so, he was thinning his line at its most dangerous point, near to the marshes of St. Gond. By midday, the Saxons were pouring into the gap.

Foch smiled.

The master tactician of the war ordered his Forty-second Division, a crack corps, to fall back and rest. They piled arms in a field and growled at their inaction, hearing the guns roar only two miles away. The precious hours passed, and while French soldiers lay resting, idle, German soldiers were still pouring into the gap. A heavy storm was rising, but the cannons outrumbled the thunder.

"Now, my children!" said the commander of the Forty-second.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon.

Silently, the men filed through the pine woods on the edge of the plateau which overlooked the marshes of St. Gond, and thence along its borders to selected positions almost touching the German line.

"At five o'clock, my children!"

There was ten minutes to wait.

Then, with a roar of cheers, the French rushed forward, striking at that point in the line which von Hausen's reckless eagerness had thinned beyond the point of safety. The Prussian Guard, now only the shadow of a line, broke like a piece of over-stretched elastic.

The French went shouting through.

At that same second, five o'clock, the moment set by Joffre and Foch, the whole line stiffened. Into the gap in the German line made by the Forty-second, the extra army corps lent by d'Esperey struck sideways in full strength.

The Prussian Guard collapsed. The Saxons fared no

better. In fifteen minutes, the right wing of von Hausen's army was a wreck.

Foch swung his whole army to the east, rapidly closing the gap. The Germans were caught in a terrible and deadly trap. Every minute meant massacre.

There was no time for counter-maneuver by von Hausen. A wild, mad flight was all that was left him, if he would escape from that gap of death into which he had been led. At half-past five, Foch hurled the reserves into the disordered confusion of horses and men, which, half an hour before, had been a supposedly victorious German Army.

Then came the long-threatening storm. Torrents of rain turned the roads into seas of mud. The German artillery was useless. Guns without number became French prizes. The dripping trees looked down on the French revenge. The ground ran red. Tens of thousands of Germans fell, thousands of prisoners were taken, and uncounted spoil. When night fell the French were still pursuing; when midnight came, the grim chase was still on; not until dawn did the hounds of retribution cease baying at the heels of von Hausen.

Nor was this all. By seven o'clock in the evening, von Kluck had learned of the disaster, and though, the next morning, he was in position to eat up Manoury's army at one big gulp, he was forced to abandon all that he had gained and take to his heels also. One night's delay would give Foch the chance of sweeping north and cutting the German line in two.

When daylight came on Thursday, September 10, the full measure of the Battle of the Marne was seen. One German army had been cut to shreds, two were in full retreat, Paris was relieved, Manoury was out of peril, the French and

British were advancing swiftly all along the line, and the German Crown Prince had been thrown back at Verdun. The German Empire had staked its forty years of preparation on this stroke, now it was retreating, whipped.

The British forces, while operating in the battle, cannot be said to have had a determining influence on the result. The Battle of the Marne was not a case of Germany against the world. It was a battle between Germany and France. It was one of the most decisive conflicts in the history of the world, and France had won.

"Don't you think you're laying too much stress on this First Battle of the Marne?" queried the War Correspondent, who had been showing restlessness. "How could it be decisive when the war continued for four years afterwards? And how about the Second Battle of the Marne?"

"A decisive battle," answered the Military Expert, "is one that decides a campaign. The purpose of the German Supreme Command was the ravage of northern France, the seizure of Paris, the capture of the French sea-coast and the humiliation of England by the threat of invasion. Germany met France at the Marne and was defeated. That defeat smashed to pieces the entire German plan, which depended on speed. The next four years of the war were spent in driving Germany back out of the trenches into which she had dug herself to prevent a continuance of disaster.

"Never again, on the western front, during all the terrible battles that followed — even including the engagements of the final years of the war, in which the Americans fought so gallantly — was a battle-line broken or an army

annihilated. There was but one Battle of the Marne, and it was won by Joffre and Foch on Wednesday, September 9, 1914. It was the most important battle in the greatest war the world has ever seen."

XVI

DIGGING IN ON THE AISNE

AS, in his advance, von Kluck had showed himself to be a masterly tactician, so in retreat — a far more difficult test — the German general showed himself a master. Although Manoury, d'Esperey and the British all were hewing and slashing at his rear, he made his way in safety to the defensive line which German foresight had already prepared on the Aisne, a line which is perhaps the strongest natural position in Western Europe.

Von Bülow was in a more difficult position. Compelled to move eastward, he found himself in the low ground surrounding the marshes of St. Gond. Three days before, they had been dry. After the night's torrential rain, they were a bog. Foch, with the advantage of knowing the ground perfectly, turned von Bülow's flank and drove two whole army corps into the slimy mud. The French general, however, forbade his artillery to fire on the struggling men. Over 2,000 were drowned in the quagmire and 60,000 were made prisoners.

On Friday, September 11, the Germans took their places in the prepared lines, and on Saturday the French and British made ready for the assault. The extraordinary natural strength of this position on the Aisne can be judged from the fact that not until the last year of the war did the Allies succeed in dislodging the Germans from that wall of rock. The main defense of that position consisted, in brief, of the

high triangular plateau of the Craonne, sloping on the north, and thereby enabling the building of good roads for the German supply columns, but, on the other two sides, facing the river Aisne, with steep cliffs, from 400 to 700 feet high. Not only are these cliffs almost impossible to be scaled, but

FIG. 15. LINE-UP OF THE ARMIES OF THE AISNE

Note the heavy concentration of the German troops on the Craonne plateau due to the alignment of the armies of Von Kluck, Von Bülow, Von Zwehl and Von Heeringen, and the concentration of French troops at Rheims and Verdun.

natural spurs of rock jut out from point to point, affording perfect gun emplacements to enfilade the river and all approaches.

Much of the credit for the holding of the Aisne must be given to von Zwehl, the grizzled old Prussian general in charge of the heavy siege train. The monster 42-centimeters, used in the reduction of the fortress of Maubeuge, had to be brought, through the rain, up the steeps to the Craonne plateau overlooking the Aisne. The traction engines failed, and von Zwehl set the infantry at hauling the monstrous engines of destruction. At pistol point, the soldiers dragged the guns, hundreds of men to one section of a gun. No slaves, under the taskmastership of a Pharaoh, ever toiled harder.

Von Zwehl's orders were incisive:

"Shoot any grumblers!"

Such iron determination sometimes achieves the apparently impossible. During the last twenty-four hours of that horrible march in the mud, the 18,000 troops and the siege guns covered a distance of forty-one miles. The siege train reached Laon at 6 A. M. of Sunday, September 13, and by 7 A. M. von Zwehl had his guns in position and in action. The indomitable will of that grim old warrior was all that saved the German army from being hurled back to Germany in the weeks following the Battle of the Marne. It took four years to dislodge the guns of von Zwehl.

There was, therefore, confronting the Allies, the "strongest military position west of the Urals." There was, also, the array of huge guns under command of von Zwehl, and the first month of the war had conclusively shown that modern artillery could successfully repel any infantry advance, however heavy or reckless. Le Grand Couronné had proved that, beyond peradventure. In addition to this, the huge armies of von Kluck and von Bülow had been reinforced by the Seventh German Army under the veteran commander von Heeringen, which army had been released from the task of holding the German frontier of the Vosges through the failure of the French offensive in Alsace-Lorraine.

The Allies, therefore, faced an impregnable position defended by thousands of spouting mouths of fire. The task of crossing the Aisne was one of the most difficult in the war, only to be compared with the task of storming the Gallipoli peninsula. The results were the same in both cases. The British secured a foothold, only to be driven back, later, because there was no way of holding the ad-

vanced posts and bringing heavy artillery up to consolidate them.

None the less, knowing the odds, during the night of September 12–13 the British engineers succeeded in putting a pontoon bridge over the river. Over half the force of engineers was left dead on the bank of the river, and when von Zwehl opened fire with his guns in the morning, the pontoon bridge was blown to splinters as though it had been built with matches.

Not less daring, perhaps even more daring, was the crossing of the river in little rowboats. That was done by a regiment of French Turcos. They had a fierce struggle in the streets of Soissons, but most of them stayed in those streets, dead.

A new British army corps (the Third), under General Pulteney, crossed by the destroyed bridge at Venizel, the engineers repairing it under a shrapnel fire so deadly that there was hardly a corporal's guard left of those engineers. Four British regiments tried to cross. Parts of each — less an entire regiment of survivors, managed to intrench on the other side. There they were marooned, no help or support could be sent them.

An effort was made to cross at Bucy-de-Long, but the deaths averaged a hundred a minute, and that plan was abandoned. An attempt at Condé proved to be even quicker annihilation. A few men were rafted over near Missy, and these lived for sixteen days in a dug-out, their only food the three days' rations they had brought with them. One girder was left of the bridge at Arcy. Though it was worse than tight-rope walking, an Irish and Scotch brigade crossed it — that is to say, two-fifths crossed. The rest fell dead in the river below. That brigade intrenched

on the north bank, holding its shallow pits like a brigade of demons, but, again, no support could be sent it.

To the far west, beyond the line of cliffs, Manoury made a dozen wild assaults, crossed the Aisne by pontoons at Vic and Fontenoy, and succeeded in intrenching solidly in the quarries near Craonne.

To the east, beyond the cliffs at that end, d'Esperey crossed without great difficulty, thereby creating a strong intrenched line which enabled, later, the better defence of Rheims.

On Monday, Haig's men, English, Scotch and Irish, actually made good a stand on the plateau, even seizing a sugar-factory on the Chemin des Dames. They held the position for three weeks. But no support could be sent them. Haig himself said: "The greatest triumph the men under my command achieved during the war, in my opinion, was the storming of the heights of the Aisne." But the heroism displayed had no permanent effect on the German strength on the Craonne plateau.

The French and British stormed the Aisne for a week continuously. The carnage was awful. On September 18, Manoury was still in the quarries but could go no further; various small bodies of British had crossed the river, and one group had actually reached the edge of the plateau, but could neither advance nor could support be sent to it; d'Esperey had crossed the river and reached the base of the plateau but could go no further. It was a deadlock. Thus ended the Western Phase of the Crossing of the Aisne.

East, from the Craonne plateau to the Argonne forest, near Verdun, the line was held by the Third German Army under the Duke of Württemberg, and the Fifth, under the German Crown Prince. Opposite these armies was the

Seventh French Army, under Foch, and the Fourth French, under de Cary.

The Eastern Phase of the Crossing of the Aisne began on September 18, when a swift, heavy blow was directed against Foch, von Heeringen adding his army to that of the Duke of Württemberg. It was a terrific attack and Foch fell back, handling his 75's, however, in such a way that the Germans could not make good their advance. Moreover, he intrenched his troops with such consummate skill, that even von Zwehl's artillery, called into play, could not dislodge them.

The capture of Rheims was essential to the German counter-advance. But, to capture Rheims, Foch must be driven back. There was no driving Foch. This time, his tactics were to stand, not to decoy. The 75's — a far more powerful and deadly weapon than their 3-inch calibre suggests — made infantry attack impossible. It was another case of Le Grand Couronné. The Germans sacrificed men by thousands, but they could not pass the line of death made by the 75's.

The Crown Prince tried the same tactics against de Cary. But, throughout the war, the Crown Prince's army showed itself one of the most poorly handled armies in the field. He was a most indifferent commander. De Cary, a bulldog type of fighter, never gave way.

The close of the Western Phase of the Aisne was put in the hands of the remnant of the Prussian Guards which had escaped the disaster of the Marne, and which had been reenforced. At dawn on September 26 von Heeringen hurled them forward to cut the railway to Verdun, in order to give the German Crown Prince an opportunity to essay a break-through between Rheims and Verdun.

A detachment of 2,000 of the famous Death's Head Hussars was sent forward to surprise the French 75-mm. field guns which were coming up at a gallop to head off the Prussian Guards. The hussars were seen two minutes' distance away. In ninety-four seconds — by actual report — the teams were unharnessed, the guns in position and the gunners at their places. The hussars charged at a hundred yards' range. Five rounds were fired in a minute and a few seconds. When the smoke cleared, not a man nor a beast remained alive of those 2,000 splendid horsemen.

In desperation, 3,000 of the Guards Corps were sent in five successive assaults against the French lines. "As they came up for the fifth assault," wrote an observer of the action, "a wild cheer of admiration broke out along the French line." The 75's did not cheer, they roared their continuous message of death. Only 125 men remained of the 3,000, most of them wounded. It was an honorable surrender. This was September 26, the last day of the Eastern Phase of the Battle of the Aisne. Foch had saved Rheims as he had saved Paris.

"Apropos of Rheims," queried the Economist, "do you consider that the Germans had a military right to fire on Rheims, and especially to wreck the Cathedral, about which so much has been said?"

"Speaking as a military expert," came the unexpected reply, "I should say the Germans not only had that right to shell the city, but were well within the basis of military necessity. Rheims was an important railway junction, feeding Verdun and other parts of the French line. While an open town at the beginning of the war, during the Battle of the Aisne the Hill of Rheims was intrenched and de-

fended by a French Army. The seizure of Rheims would have been of the highest strategic importance to Germany. The loss of it would have had a profound effect on France.

"With regard to the shelling of the Cathedral, there is plenty of evidence to show that this was done deliberately, and there seems little reason to doubt that it was done vengefully. The Germans claimed that the towers of the Cathedral were used for observation. The French claimed that they were not. But, from the German point of view, they might have been. An enemy has the military right to destroy elevated structures which might be employed against him.

"If, however, as the evidence shows, the Cathedral was destroyed as a piece of barbarous Vandalism, then there is no excuse. When viewed in connection with Germany's deliberate destruction of historic buildings in Belgium and northern France, one is driven to the belief that it was the vengeful spirit of the Hun rather than military necessity which dictated the destruction of one of the most beautiful edifices in the world."

XVII

THE SMASH FOR THE COAST AT YPRES

IT will not have escaped observation — continued the Military Expert — that, up to and including the Crossing of the Aisne, the war in the west had consisted almost solely in the German drive on Paris, the French defense, and the German clinch following their defeat at the Marne. Immediately following the deadlock on the Aisne an entirely new battle plan had to be devised by both sides. This battle plan became known as "The Race for the Sea."

Obviously, since the Germans had found it necessary to dig in, it was to their advantage to seize and hold as much French territory as possible. Equally obviously, since the French had forced the Germans to a defensive position, it was to their advantage to flank this defense line as much as possible and to try to cut the German lines of communication. Thus the Germans strove to force their way westward, the French eastward. Since both groups of armies were to the south, the respective directions would enforcedly be northwesterly and northeasterly. As the military forces of both were about equal, these two aims neutralized. The line, naturally, thus developed north and south.

Furthermore, since neither one side nor the other could throw an army into open territory, without establishing a Line of Communication, it followed that both Germans and French must build up their line as an athlete climbs a rope,

hand over hand. Each push northward, day by day, was countered by a push northward of the opposing force and thus the flame of battle sped toward the sea as fast as men and guns could be moved.

There were, thus, two groups of actions, one lasting from September 26 to October 15, during which the line was being established, the other lasting from October 15 to November 6, when cold weather set in, during which both sides tested out the strength of each other's line.

The first, from the military point of view, was a race of transportation. Whichever side could get its men up quickest had the advantage of position. The results can be briefly told. On September 26 the Germans were driven out of Amiens. From September 27 to October 1, the towns of Peronne and Albert changed hands three times. On October 1 the French were driven out of Douai and the Germans were stopped near Arras. On October 6 a terrific drive at Lille was countered at La Bassée. On October 9 the bombardment of Lille began, and on October 13 it surrendered. On October 14 the British pushed forward to protect Ypres, and on October 15 the Germans entered Ostend and threatened Nieuport.

Thus was established the Western Battle Line, running, on that date, Nieuport-Dixmude-Ypres-Armentières-La Bassée-Lens-Arras-Albert-Roye-Lassigny-Noyon - Rheims-Verdun. For the next four years the line swung to and fro, during various offensives, German or Allied, but this race to the sea established its general character.

The second group of battles, which were waged to test the strength of the line, was marked by five important engagements. The first, and earliest, was the Battle of Albert-Peronne, which was a part of the establishment of the line.

The other four were the Battle of Arras, the Battle of La Bassée, the First Battle of Ypres and the Battle of the Yser.

The Battle of Arras gained its significance from the rea-

FIG. 16. THE WESTERN BATTLE FRONT

Showing furthest Allied line at the opening of the war, furthest German line in the drive at Paris, and the deadlock line produced by the smash for the sea.

son that Arras was one of the most important railroad junctions in the north. It was a principal point on the four-track line running from Paris to the sea and from Paris to Brussels. If Arras had fallen into the hands of the Germans, it would have crippled French and British communi-

cations and would have given the Germans a clear transport line from Belgium.

The main attack began on October 20, and was started by von Bülow, with an unusually heavy artillery concentration. The French, under General Maud'huy, forming what was known as the French Army of the West, resisted stoutly, but von Bülow's force was overpowering. The defenders fought for every inch of ground, but, by October 24, von Bülow was within gun-fire of Arras. At this critical juncture Joffre rushed up the reserves under General Brugère, which had been engaged in the Albert-Peronne battle and relieved Maud'huy in the nick of time. He dug in for the winter just outside the northern gate of Arras.

The Battle of La Bassée, sometimes called the Battle of the Lys, was the German counter-attack to a determined effort on the part of Joffre and Sir John French to save Lille. From October 11–17 the British drove the Germans back steadily, but were driven back in their turn from October 18–21. Then came a smashing attack by the army under the Duke of Württemberg which had been shifted from the Aisne sector. The line at this point was held by the British right wing, the Second Corps, with a strong Indian detachment, under Smith-Dorrien, and three French divisions, under General Bidon. On Smith-Dorrien's left was the Third Corps, under General Pulteney.

Largely owing to the disunited character of this command, and also to the lack of co-ordination between the British and French commanders-in-chief (for this was before the days of single supreme leadership) the battle developed into an extraordinary mêlée, brigades, regiments, and even companies striking out for themselves. Some units actually intrenched behind the lines of their opponents.

The superior organization of the Germans wrought havoc in the British ranks. Whole regiments were cut off. The line crumbled. But trenches that were lost under gun-fire were recaptured with the bayonet, though at heavy loss. Yet, withal, the Germans won ground and Neuve Chapelle fell into their hands on October 27. The Indian troops fought like wild-cats, but the artillery concentration was too severe, and the whole line was driven back to La Bassée, where Smith-Dorrien intrenched for the winter, and, from those trenches the most determined hammering of the Germans could not budge him.

More important than either of the foregoing was the First Battle of Ypres, which, according to German announcement, was "to make Belgium a German province." Important events led up to it. Antwerp had fallen on October 9, followed by the occupation of Ghent on the 12th, Bruges on the 13th, and Ostend on the 15th. When, therefore, Sir John French threw his three army corps forward in the attempt to rescue Lille, it was in the face of an onrushing host. From October 11 to 17 the British advanced steadily, reaching the Passchendaele Ridge, northeast of Ypres, their immediate objective being Ghent and Bruges, whence they would turn south to flank Lille. On the 19th headquarters were established at Ypres.

A change came on the 20th, when a huge German army under von Deimling, who, a couple of weeks before, had been holding the frontier of Switzerland, and another big army of reserve under General von Fabeck, advanced in close formation to check the British. At the same time, Pulteney, to the south, reported a heavy concentration against him near Armentieres and declared further advance impossible. Pulteney dug in for the winter near Neuve

Eglise, under a terrific fire that continued without cessation for sixteen days.

The northern British wing, advanced in front of Ypres, found itself the focus of the main German attack. The Kaiser had given orders that the great break-through was to be made either at Ypres or at Dunkirk, and was present himself to direct the blow. The odds against the British were about six to one.

On October 21 and 22 the British, though severely punished, held their ground, trenches lost by gunfire being recovered by the bayonet. The fighting slackened slightly during the next two days, and thence to the 29th, dwindled into an irregular artillery duel. Dusk of that day and dawn of the 30th witnessed two heavy mass assaults near Gheluvelt. The latter was successful and the defenders were compelled to draw back to within three miles of Ypres. Then orders were issued that detachments must defend their stations till the last man fell.

No one was prepared for the fury of fire and the weight of men that was launched under the eyes of the Kaiser on October 31. The struggles of that day were like the visions of delirium. Divisions were flanked, regiments annihilated, and even one division headquarters was blown into smithereens. Somehow, it is doubtful if the British commanders themselves knew how — the tenacity of a division here or a regiment there broke up the continuity of the German advance. Of three British divisions, in the crucial centre, two were crumpled up in less than three hours.

There seemed no hope of holding back the enemy, but, as by miracle, one regiment (the Second Warwickshires) held the tiny village of Gheluvelt and the British rallied around the point. Two regiments and a cavalry brigade deliber-

ately sacrificed themselves in turn to hold the line firm for another hour and half, and, as evening drew on, French cavalry reserves appeared.

The battle continued with undiminished intensity all that night and next day, but, owing to the irregularity and haste of the whole movement, regulated artillery fire was not as accurate as it might have been, and the Germans proved far inferior to the British in the use of cold steel. By midday of November 1 the line had been stiffened, both from the north and the south, and the trenches in front of Ypres held firm. The Kaiser had seen the bloodiest mass-attacks fail against the French at Le Grand Couronné, he saw them fail against the British at Ypres. Belgium did never become a German province, not even in all the four years of woe that followed.

The Battle of the Yser, named from the Yser Canal, was fought in a shallow lake, for the lands about the canal had been flooded. Only 6,000 French marines, under Admiral Ronarc'h, and 5,000 Belgian soldiers, under General Meyser, were available to face 123,000 Germans, from the Duke of Württemberg's army. "You have to sacrifice yourselves to save our left wing," said the Admiral, "try and hold out for four days." Without heavy guns, with no scouting service save that of a few Belgian cyclists, these 11,000 men held the trenches near Dixmude for fourteen days.

Four Belgian divisions, so weakened by losses that they were but skeletons of divisions, held the Ostend road from Dixmude to the sea, their rear trenches resting on the Yser. On the night of the 16th the German attempt to break through to the sea at this last and northernmost point began. Fortunately, the ground was too soft for the German heavy

guns. The Belgians fought desperately to save the tiny strip of Belgium that remained unconquered, but three days and nights of heroic struggling against fearful odds saw them back in their last trenches along the Yser, centering at Dixmude and Nieuport.

The danger was now acute. A break-through along the coast meant the capture of the shore. The Germans swung their whole force northwards. The night was full of the trampling of marching hosts. Dawn came, but the same morning light that showed the Germans in force, ready to overwhelm the Belgian force, also showed at sea, close inshore, the ungainly shapes of shallow-draught British monitors, carrying long-range naval guns. With the first gray of morning, naval observation balloons and aeroplanes shot into the sky. The sea spouted fire.

The German trenches and the territory behind the German lines was enfiladed with the terrible shells from big naval guns, more powerful than land artillery. One British monitor, alone, in the course of that day, fired over a thousand high-explosive and shrapnel shells. German infantry action was impossible for a space of three miles inland from the shore. A rabbit could not have passed unscathed.

Back from the coast the Germans staggered, to renew the attack between Nieuport and Dixmude. But the Germans were fighting without the aid of their heavy artillery, which could not be moved in ground so waterlogged. None the less, on October 24, the Germans succeeded in forcing a passage across the Yser Canal. Promptly the lock gates were opened, the sea roared in over the low-lying dyked lands. The invaders were drowned by hundreds, but the battle still went on, French marines, Belgian and British

soldiers fighting with the Germans waist-deep in water.

Hand-to-hand combat proved fatal to German ardor. The hosts of the Hun retreated back across the canal, on November 3. The Belgians retook the trenches, consolidated them anew and closed the lock-gates to the sea. On November 10 the Germans flung back and occupied the ruins of what had once been Dixmude, but the canal barred them again. When the frost came, the Allies had dug in solidly and the Yser line held firm.

As the French had held Le Grand Couronné, as the British had held Ypres, so the Belgians held the Yser. For fortitude, for gallantry, and for strategical importance there was little to choose between the three.

With the coming of winter — entailing great military difficulties in a climate so rainy and a soil so muddy as that of northern France and Belgium, relentless strife settled into a not less relentless deadlock. On the Yser, at Ypres, at Armentieres, at La Bassée, at Arras, at Albert, near Soissons, on the Aisne, at Rheims, through the Argonne Forest, at Verdun, by Nancy, across the Vosges and at the Col de Busang, the German advance was jammed fast. Not one step further could they advance. Neither could the Allies. The millioned-manned wrestle northwards was ended. The line from Switzerland to the sea was closed. The western battle-line was forged.

"You speak," said the Diplomat, "as though this deadlock were an Allied victory. Is this quite just? Had not the Germans conquered almost the whole of Belgium, and a large stretch of northern France? Was not the war, on the west, being waged entirely in enemy territory?"

"Undoubtedly," the Military Expert replied. "Had the

Germans been able, in the spring, to continue their advance, the establishment of this battle-line for the winter might have been regarded merely as a check. It proved not to be so. Remember, the attacker is only victorious while he advances, the defender is victorious when he defends. Furthermore, German strength lay in the swiftness of attack, and every succeeding month and year brought ever-growing weakness. The Allied strength lay in stubborn resistance and delay, and every succeeding month brought re-enforcement and added power."

"Why, then, do you suppose that Germany held the western line so tenaciously?"

"Because, as you yourself pointed out," the Military Expert answered, "Germany's chief goal was in the east. If she could force the Allies to spend all their strength to hold the western front, her schemes in the Near East might advance unchecked. Moreover, as long as she held northern France and Belgium, she held coal and iron mines, fertile fields and thousands of manufactories. Again, conquered territory serves as a pawn in diplomatic dickering. From military necessity, as a matter of diplomacy and for the reason of prestige, holding the western battle front became imperative on Germany."

XVIII

GERMAN ATROCITIES

"I'VE been thinking," remarked the War Correspondent, abruptly, "about your explanation of the German bombardment of the Cathedral at Rheims. You smoothed it away, in a sort of fashion, but I'd like to know if you think the horrible atrocities committed by Germany in Belgium and northern France could also be excused on the grounds of military necessity?"

"Excused? Certainly not," replied the Military Expert promptly. "But, if you should press me, I might admit that they had a purpose. That purpose might be bad — myself, I think it was — but a great many people became highly incensed over Belgium's woes without ever regarding the German aspect of the matter. We must be fair. In every story, however black, there are two sides."

"Do you think there was a German side to such abominations?" queried the American, in indignant protest.

"Certainly there was," the Expert responded. "From a military point of view, there was an excessively important side. I think my friend, Mr. Diplomat, will bear me out in saying that there was also a profound diplomatic side to it. I repeat, let us be fair."

"I'd like to know how you can find any military or diplomatic excuse for Germany's acts in Belgium!" declared the War Correspondent, not in the least mollified. "How can

you excuse the murdering of women and children, the crucifying of babies, the wide-spread ravishment, the wholesale theft, the bombing of hospitals, the looting of churches, the organized butchery and the ruthless deportations of whole village populations? Answer me that!"

The French general stiffened slightly.

"As a Frenchman and a gentleman," he said, "you may be sure that I have no sympathy with any such acts. I have told you that I find no excuse for them. As a soldier, I must also speak as a soldier. Permit me to trace for you a few facts regarding the military occupation of Belgium.

"We have seen, to begin with, that von Emmich, in charge of the German advance through Liége, was held back for nine days, and that the resistance of General Leman threw the whole German time-table into arrears. It was but natural, therefore, for the Germans to hold a bitter grudge against the Belgians who had thus disarranged their plans and, as it turned out, vitiated their whole scheme of a swift invasion.

"Next to be considered was the Belgian resistance all along the line. At Eghezée on August 13, at Landen on the 14th, at Waremme on the 15th, and at Diest on the 16th, not only were all German attacks beaten off, but the German loss was heavier than the Belgian. On the 18th the Belgians delivered a crushing blow at the Germans, though they were themselves cut to pieces. Brussels was evacuated on August 17 in order to prevent the destruction of the fine old city, and the Germans entered it on August 20. The Belgian army was still undefeated and fell back on Antwerp.

"This was a terrible blow to German vanity. It revealed to the world that, man for man, the Belgian was a better soldier than the German. It showed that even against

odds of seven to one, the 'citizen army' of Belgium could severely punish the supposedly invincible German war machine.

"Consider, moreover, the results of the Battle of the Marne. No one knew better than the German military commanders that the invading campaign had failed. Yes, it had failed, but by the narrowest margin. If Liége had fallen in two days, instead of nine, Charleroi could have been reached by the 13th instead of the 20th, and, on the 13th, the British were still disembarking at Boulogne and could not have been at Mons. Moreover, if Liége had fallen in the two days called for by the German time-table, von Kluck's army would have had time to seize the whole Belgian sea-coast, part of the French sea-coast and to prevent direct communications between England and France.

"Consider, further, the danger of an undefeated Belgian army at Antwerp, with its possible sudden re-enforcement by British forces at that point, forming a powerful menace in the German rear.

"Consider, yet again, the essential fact that, since the original invasion had not been successful, for a long time to come it would be necessary to occupy Belgium, to operate all the Belgian railway lines and to maintain vast stores of food and munitions in Belgium itself. Such occupation must be done in a hostile country, where rebellion could only be quelled by fear.

"Under these circumstances, there was reason — though I cannot admit that there was excuse — for the terrible severity of some of the military orders issued in Belgium. Incipient revolt must always be put down with a heavy hand, and, among a people as independent and liberty-loving

as the Belgians, we may be sure that incipient revolt was ripe in every city, town and hamlet. German life could not have been safe in Belgium unless the civilians had been so terrorized that they dared not move a finger in their own behalf. Under the circumstances, severe military measures were justified."

The American lifted up his head as though to interrupt, but the Military Expert stopped him with a gesture.

"At the same time," he continued, "it is to be remembered that there is a wide difference between a severe military order and a barbarous interpretation of its terms. Where the German officers were seriously to blame, where they rightfully won the contempt and scorn of all humanity lay in the fact that they did not try to restrain the common soldiers from acts of violence and barbarity. There is, alas! plenty of evidence to show that the officers of lesser rank even aided and abetted the soldiery in the most dastardly and abhorrent crimes. There is still more evidence to show that the policy of terrorization and 'frightfulness' was upheld by the German High Command.

"I am well aware," he went on, nodding to the American, "of the findings of the official commissions. I know that in Neerhespen a man was hanged head downward and burned alive; that in Herrsfelt a man, his wife and family had their hands nailed to the table with spikes and there were left to starve to death; and that the two instances I name could be duplicated by thousands. I am aware that Aerschot was given over to three days' pillage, the soldiers being given leave to wreak what violence they pleased on the inhabitants; that in Sempst, the Germans poured oil on the clothes of the villagers and burned them alive; that con-

vents were broken into; that priests were slain at the altar; that in three days thirty-seven villages were burned to the ground; and that famous and beautiful cities such as Louvain and Malines were sacked and destroyed.

"These crimes and thousands others like them, both in Belgium and northern France, were due to the letting loose of a blood-mad and drunken soldiery, under the admitted willingness of the military authorities. But, at the same time, it is not entirely just to blame all the violence and savagery on the German character. Much of it bears the special brand of the Hun, but more of it bears simply the brand of war. There are brutal classes among every people and brutal individuals in every class, and, when these brute natures are given license and opportunity, they infect the others and bestiality becomes epidemic.

"One would be glad to find, after the war, that these horrors had been exaggerated in the reports. Unhappily, this is not so. French, Belgian, British and American commissions of inquiry into the German atrocities in Belgium and northern France have put on record the most appalling story of human depravity that has ever disgraced any war. German guilt was substantiated to the very last particular."

"But it could have been avoided!" declared the American.

"It could have been lessened," the Military Expert corrected, "but War is always an ugly business, at best. One thing, however, is sure. Germany's treatment of Belgium so horrified the world, and brought down upon her such a terrible retribution that no invading army of the future will ever dare to repeat such acts again. The sacrifice of Belgium has not been in vain. The policy of 'frightfulness' has been exhibited to the uttermost and has revealed not

only that it is the most hideous thing in war but the most self-convicting and unwise. The principal effect of the 'Three Weeks Terror' was to crystallize the determination of the Allies never to allow the German spirit to dominate the world."

XIX

THE BALANCE OF SEA POWER

THE Chief of Staff introduced to the Conclave of Five a new member.

"Although the British Navy is known as 'the silent service,'" he said, "I have persuaded this gentleman, who served with the Admiralty, to give us the general outlines of the maritime factors and of the principal naval engagements of the Great War. I speak with assurance when I say we all realize that without the British Navy the war could never have been won. Lacking the British Navy, American neutrality could not have been preserved during the first two and a half years of the war, nor, without it, could American soldiers have played so well their part during the final year. America owes a lasting debt of gratitude to the British Navy."

"Which the Navy of the United States repaid in full," answered the officer, bowing courteously, and, without further prelude, he began:

The British Empire, the mother country of which is on an island and the colonies of which are dispersed upon the Seven Seas, has always regarded the navy as the senior service. Britain has been a naval rather than a military power. She has always maintained a two-power naval standard, even as Germany had tried to reach a two-power military standard.

In naval matters, this standard of strength is measured not by the tonnage nor the number of ships, but by their power. And power resolves itself into the two factors of speed, which provides mobility; and of gun-power, which provides distance of range.

A very simple illustration will make this clear. Let us suppose the existence of a vessel which is at the same time speedier than any of the vessels of the enemy and also is armed with longer-range guns. Such a vessel could pound a whole hostile fleet to pieces before ever the attacked ships could get within range, while she herself would never be hit, because, owing to her superior speed, she could keep all the time out of range.

In naval architecture, however, these two things are incompatible. Speed can only be obtained by sacrificing weight of armor and of guns, great gun-power can only be secured at the sacrifice of speed. Fleet for fleet, that one is the stronger in which the units are so disposed that the greatest amount of speed is conjoined with the hardest hitting power. As naval architecture progresses rapidly, it follows that a battleship becomes obsolete, not because she is worn out, but because later types can dominate her with higher speed, more resistant armor and higher-powered guns.

In modern navies, battleships are divided into three classes: Super-Dreadnoughts, Dreadnoughts and Pre-Dreadnoughts. The terms need explanation. The characteristic of the *Dreadnought,* launched in 1906, was that she was the first all-big-gun ship.[1] The new principle lay in the fact that British naval builders argued that medium-heavy

[1] The American Navy can lay just claim to priority in the disposition of big guns on ships, witness the U. S. S. *Michigan* of 1906.

secondary batteries were unnecessary on a battleship. If all the weight and power were given to primary batteries of heavy guns, in thickly-armored turrets, a battleship would either sink a powerful enemy or have been sunk, before either vessel would approach close enough to allow the secondary batteries to be used. As battleships did not fight as units — the fleet being the unit — the work of smaller guns was entrusted to smaller vessels. The *Dreadnought* revolutionized naval tactics.

Now, it takes time to build naval vessels. Germany had no inkling of the *Dreadnought* idea, until that ship was launched, when she immediately commenced to copy it. From that time on, British naval architecture advanced steadily, Germany following. But, since Germany was only copying from Britain, she was always from two and a half to three years behind, the first German ship of the British Dreadnought type not being launched until 1910. To bring the matter up-to-date, while the *Queen Elizabeth* was launched in 1914, the nearest German vessel to that type was not launched until 1917, and, even then, was below the British standard.

At the opening of the war the British Navy possessed ten Dreadnoughts and twelve super-Dreadnoughts, or twenty-two in all. Germany had thirteen Dreadnoughts and three super-Dreadnoughts, or sixteen in all. These three German vessels, the *König,* the *Grosser Kurfürst* and the *Markgraf,* were slightly heavier and more powerful than the British *Iron Duke* and other vessels of that class but they were also slightly slower. They were, however, smaller, slower and less powerful than the British ships of the *Queen Elizabeth* class which Great Britain put in the water during the first few weeks of the war. In super-

Photos from Brown Bros.

Admiral Sir David Beatty;
Commander-in-Chief of
the British Grand Fleet.

Vice-Admiral William S. Sims;
Commander of U. S. Naval
forces in European waters.

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe;
First Lord of the British Admiralty.

Rear-Admiral Jules Lacaze;
Minister of Marine for
France.

Vice-Admiral H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi;
Commander of Italian naval forces in the
Mediterranean.

ALLIED NAVAL LEADERS IN THE WORLD WAR.

battle-cruisers, or vessels carrying larger than 12-inch guns, and with high speed, Britain had ten and Germany three, but five of the British cruisers were in foreign waters, and one of the German. The proportion of super-ships, then, was 27 to 18. In light cruisers and destroyers Great Britain was very strong, having approximately 40 light cruisers which could be classed as modern, and 152 destroyers of the same dates. Of the same calibre, Germany had 14 light cruisers and 110 destroyers. In the matter of auxiliary ships, Britain possessed as great a preponderance as three to one. In the matter of submarines, the German fleet became incomparably the stronger, though only 27 German submarines were listed at the beginning of the war. During the course of the war, British naval building was rapid and powerful. From the first day of the war to the last, there was never a time when the British Navy, alone, could not have blown out of the water the combined navies of the Central Powers.

Accordingly, when, on August 4, 1914, at the declaration of war, it was found that nearly the whole of the British fleet was in home waters, the naval end of the war was won. Germany's fleet could not issue from its home ports without certain doom. It could not escape to the open sea, for Jellicoe's fleet of battleships held the North Sea, and Beatty's fleet of battle-cruisers blocked the entrance from the Orkney Islands to the Norwegian coast.

Escape through the Straits of Dover was equally impossible, for in such close waters, where greater range of naval guns would be of no service, England's enormous pre-Dreadnought fleet, stationed in the Thames, could harry the German craft. If, indeed, the latter succeeded in breaking through by the English Channel, Beatty's battle cruisers,

with far greater speed than the German vessels, could overhaul the hostile fleet in two days and hold them in play until the battleships came up. Both by reason of strategic position and by superior numbers, German naval power was whipped without the firing of a shot.

The same preponderance of power in favor of the Allies was found in the Mediterranean. France had 4 Dreadnoughts and 19 armored (not battle) cruisers; Austria had 4 Dreadnoughts and 12 armored cruisers. But France also had 238 torpedo boats and destroyers against 81 of the same classes in Austria. When Italy joined the war, adding 5 Dreadnoughts (her five enormous super-Dreadnoughts were not yet launched), 24 armored and protected cruisers and 119 torpedo boats and destroyers, the Austrian navy could do no more than Germany — remain ineffective in its home ports. In naval warfare, the Central Powers never had and never could have had any chance. The control of the seas by the Allies was won in the shipyards, not at the mouths of the guns.

"You do not think, then," queried the Diplomat, "that the hiding of the German High Seas fleet was due to cowardice?"

The naval officer shook his head.

"Cowardice is a matter of individual feeling," he answered, "prudence is a matter of naval strategy. The war showed German naval courage to be of a high order. There were no cases of weak surrender. Von Spee fought to the last. Men of the *Mainz* and *Blücher* went down singing.

"What end would the Germans have gained by trying conclusions with a superior enemy? If they had lost, they

would have diminished the menace that always lurks in an undefeated fleet; if they had won against the heavy odds — an outcome most unlikely — they could have made no good use of such a victory.

"With every German soldier desperately engaged merely to hold the existing battle-lines, where could they have found a million more men for the invasion of England? And how could they have transported them? The Germans had everything to lose by coming out into the open. In destroyer dashes, light cruiser raids and the extension of mine and submarine warfare, they did all that they could against an enemy numerically so superior."

"Then you think," queried the American, "that mere size of a navy is enough for security?"

"Not at all," answered the Naval Expert. "Powerful fleets give security, but the size of a fleet must be in proportion to the amount of coast-line that has to be defended or attacked. The naval bases in Germany are in a natural pocket, and once a blockade was established, the escape of the fleet was impossible. But imagine the difficulty of blockading both the eastern, southern and western coast-lines of the United States in the same way. Conceive the task of isolating a continent! At the same time, the United States must remember that its enormous coast-line requires, for its defense, an enormous fleet. Each nation has its own peculiar naval problem."

"Do you consider the navy more important than the army?" queried the War Correspondent.

"It is hardly fair to ask that question of a naval man," was the smiling reply. "But, in general, the principle holds true that the navy is best fitted for defense, the army for attack."

The Military Expert nodded his head agreeingly.

"In a measure, that is true," he said, "especially as the World War has shown that a magnificent citizen army can be trained in a few months. Battleships take longer to build and the personnel takes more time to train."

"Besides which," added the Economist, "the Navy is the protector of commerce. The Freedom of the Seas can only be secured by the arrival of the millennium or a commanding navy."

XX

THE VIGIL OF THE SEAS

JUST as geography is an all-important factor of land warfare — the naval officer continued — so is the geography, if I may call it so, of the sea. The North Sea is too small for decisive actions of swift modern fleets. A difference of a knot or two in the speed of ships spells destruction on the ocean, but the superiority is too small to enable a pursuer to overhaul a fleeing foe on a narrow stretch of water. In a naval action at ten miles distance, should the fight turn to a pursuit, even a partly crippled ship traveling at a rate not much slower than a fast train would have ample time to reach the protection of a near-by naval base, or at least a mine-laid shoal.

Furthermore, the North Sea is shallow, well adapted for the promiscuous laying of mines, excellent for submarine operations. Considered from the point of view of tactics, the North Sea was ideal for under-sea warfare. The Germans made full advantage of it. During the first three or four months of the war, not a single English harbor was safe, and the ships torpedoed were far more in number than the official reports announced.

It followed, therefore, that while the Grand Fleet did, from time to time, show itself upon the North Sea in what was known as a "Silent Might Parade," the real work of the blockade was done by the smaller vessels. When the

submarine and mine menace was its worst, there were over 700 vessels, light cruisers, destroyers, torpedo gunboats, mine-sweepers, trawlers and motor-scout-boats, patrolling the North Sea.[1] The work was hard and dangerous, the loss of life was heavy. Night and day they must watch and give warning of any movement of German vessels.

The first naval action came on the second day of the war, when the destroyer *Lance* sank the mine-layer *Königin Luise* on August 5, 1914, the latter revenging herself posthumously when one of the mines that she had laid blew up the destroyer flagship *Amphion.* The most costly of the submarine attacks in the early part of the war was the sinking of three slow British cruisers (fifteen years old), *Cressy, Hogue* and *Aboukir,* one after the other, by a single submarine on September 22, 1914 Thereafter the submarine had to operate with the seas dotted with hawk-eyed observers.

How closely this watch and ward was kept is seen from the fact that in all the four years of the war, only three times did the German vessels manage to creep out under the cover of darkness and fog and raid the English coast. The first of these was on November 2, 1914, when three battle cruisers, five armored cruisers and six destroyers bombarded Lowestoft and Yarmouth early in the morning of November 3, 1914. One British submarine, in pursuit, hit a mine and sank. Viewed as a raid, it was a failure; viewed as an example of escaping the British blockade, it was a success. The second raid was on December 16, 1914, when the town of Hartlepool, Scarborough and Whitby were bombarded. Between fifty and sixty civilians were killed and over 100

[1] The author permits himself to refer the reader to his companion volume "The Wonder of War at Sea."

wounded. The Germans returned safely. The third successful raid was not until April 25, 1916, when Lowestoft and Yarmouth were again bombarded, four civilians being killed and twelve wounded. The Germans were driven back in twenty minutes.

The second evidence of the sharp-eyed watching of the Germans in the mists of the North Sea is seen in the fact that only two substantial sea skirmishes occurred during the first years of the war, these being known respectively as the Battle of the Bight of Helgoland on August 28, 1914, and the Battle of Dogger Bank, on January 24, 1915.

The Battle of the Bight was an attempt by the British to decoy the Germans into action. A British submarine flotilla, accompanied by two destroyers, the *Lurcher* and the *Firedrake,* steamed past Helgoland in easy reach of the German vessels stationed there. If pursued, they were to continue northwestward toward a strong British battle-cruiser fleet. Due west lay a squadron of light cruisers, the *Arethusa* and *Fearless,* accompanied by a flotilla of destroyers, in advance, ready to steam east to the aid of the decoy, as needed.

The Germans bit at the bait. Twenty-one German destroyers shot out from the harbor, followed closely by a squadron of light cruisers. The *Arethusa* and *Fearless* dashed forward, cutting off the chase of the German light cruisers, but themselves got into danger. The German light cruisers *Ariadne* and *Strassburg* concentrated their fire on the *Arethusa,* setting her on fire and putting her out of action. On the other hand, the bridge of the *Ariadne* was carried away, crippling her and killing the captain.

The German light cruiser squadron, meanwhile, continued the chase of the *Lurcher* and *Firedrake,* who sent wireless

FIG. 17. NAVAL BATTLES IN THE NORTH SEA

Showing the location of the battleship action off Jutland, the cruiser action off Dogger Bank and the destroyer action near the Bight of Heligoland. Note also how the North Sea was blocked by the British fleets.

calls for help. The *Arethusa,* having put out the fire aboard her, turned north with the *Fearless* to renew the battle.

The *Strassburg,* slightly heavier and considerably faster, bore down anew on the wobbly *Arethusa* and practically finished her, though she kept afloat. At the same time, the *Strassburg* received a smart hammering from the *Fearless.*

The German light cruisers *Köln* and *Mainz* came to the aid of the *Strassburg,* which retired, crippled. But, just as the *Arethusa* and *Fearless* faced these two new foes, down from the north steamed the light cruisers *Falmouth* and *Nottingham.* The *Fearless* was still in action, making three British cruisers against the German two. A concentrated fire on the *Mainz* began to shatter her upper works.

Then, forging down in towering majesty, came one of the "Cats," the super-battle-cruiser *Lion,* and hope for the *Mainz* was gone. A few of the great shells from the 13.5-inch guns crippled her irretrievably and a torpedo sent her to the bottom. The Germans went down on her with absolute discipline and in gallant order. A second ship of the "Cats," the *Queen Mary,* took up the chase of the *Köln,* and thirty-knot speed and 13.5-inch guns finished her in a few minutes. The heavy shells sank the *Köln* so swiftly that the *Queen Mary,* traveling at a speed of more than thirty miles an hour, found not a single survivor to be rescued. The *Ariadne* sank in port. Actually, the British had not lost a ship, though the *Arethusa* was badly damaged, being much in the same state as the *Strassburg.* The Battle of the Bight, then, was a distinct victory for the British, but only because the super-battle-cruisers were brought into play against light cruisers.

The Battle of Dogger Bank was of a different character. It began as an attempted raid, but there is more than a little reason to suppose it to have been a German decoy. The German fleet consisted of the battle cruisers *Seydlitz, Derf-*

flinger and *Moltke,* and the older armored cruiser *Blücher,* together with a full complement of light cruisers and destroyers. They were sighted at 7:25 A. M. of January 24, 1915, by Admiral Beatty's battle-cruiser squadron, consisting of three of the "Cats," the *Lion, Tiger* and *Princess Royal,* and two of the older types, *Indomitable* and *New Zealand,* these latter being of the same striking force as the German vessels. This fleet, also, was accompanied by light cruisers and destroyers.

No sooner did the Germans find that they were discovered than they turned and ran. The battle was one of a stern chase. The slower-paced *Blücher* fell behind. Each of the pursuing vessels passed her and fired a broadside. At 10:48 she drew out of the line, defeated, and she sank at 12:37, her men at their stations and singing patriotic German songs. The battle-cruiser action was at long range, fourteen miles at the first gun-fire, seven miles later, and, though the British ships were heavier, the Germans gained the advantage, the *Lion* being badly injured and unable to reach port under her own steam. Both the *Seydlitz* and the *Derfflinger* had been set on fire. There was a chance for the heavier British vessels to continue the chase and finish the German battle cruisers. But the crippling of the flagship *Lion* had taken Beatty from the scene of action and Admiral Moore received orders not to pursue, as the fleets were within 70 miles of Helgoland, where the German High Seas fleet of battleships were waiting for the British to enter the trap.

The three raids, the Battle of the Bight and the Battle of Dogger Bank, therefore, may be regarded as the leading actions which developed from the work of keeping watch and ward in the North Sea.

A second most important part of the naval work was that of protecting allied commerce, convoying merchant ships and transports to home ports; and in stopping enemy or suspicious vessels. This policing work was continued night and day for four long years. The efficiency of the sea blockade against Germany revealed the completeness with which this latter feature of the work was done, while the fact that, during the four years, the average number of vessels which reached Allied ports was a fraction over three every daylight hour, revealed the success of the convoying.

The third feature of this Vigil of the Seas was that of destroying mine-fields, of scouting and surveying for floating mines, of establishing defences against submarines, such as booms, nets, rollers and the like, an arduous, dangerous job, but one, none the less, which was done so efficiently that the fairway of navigation was kept moderately safe. Over 11,000 mines were rendered harmless by such processes, during the war.

XXI

JAPAN AND KIAO-CHAU

THE capture of German naval bases — the Naval Officer continued — was of the first urgency, and the Allies undertook the work without delay. Germany had naval bases all over the world. She could coal in the North Atlantic from home bases; in the South Atlantic, from West African bases; in the North Pacific, at Kiao-Chau; in the South Pacific, from German New Guinea, the Caroline, Solomon and Marshall Islands and Samoa; in the Indian Ocean, from East Africa and her Polynesian bases. The British Navy, aided by Allied navies, undertook the capture of all these.

One of the most important of such occupations — certainly the one which attained the greatest diplomatic importance — was the capture of the German concession of Kiao-Chau and the Shantung Peninsula, in China. Kiao-Chau had been seized by Germany in November, 1897, the town harbor and district transferred by treaty to Germany on a 99-year lease in March, 1898, and, a month later, the district, together with the Shantung Peninsula, was declared a German Protectorate to be administered by the German Navy.

On August 15, 1914, eleven days after the beginning of the war, Japan called upon Germany to deliver up the leased territory by September 15, the ultimatum giving a week for reply. No reply being received, Japan declared war on

August 23 and began the blockade of the town and fortified naval base of Tsing-Tao on August 26. On September 1 Japanese marines landed on several small islands in the bay. Next day 10,000 Japanese troops were put ashore on Shantung Peninsula. On September 13, the Japanese had taken Kiao-Chau, twenty-two miles inland from Tsing-

Fig. 18. THE DISPUTED AREA IN SHANTUNG
German concession in China (in black) conquered by the Allies and transferred to Japan by treaty. The railroad concessions were transferred likewise.

Tao. The protest of China was met by the Japanese reply that the railway at Kiao-Chau was a German concession owned and operated by Germans. On September 23 a small British force arrived.

The siege of Tsing-Tao was begun on September 26 by the Japanese. British naval vessels joined in the siege on September 28. On September 30 the city was completely invested, but, though a vigorous assault was made, it was without success. October was spent in mine-sweeping oper-

ations in the harbor, and on October 31 the big Japanese and British battleships steamed in and commenced bombardment with heavy naval guns. The defenses were smashed into powder. By November 6, the outer positions were taken with ease by direct assault, and, next day, November 7, the whole base was occupied, with little resistance. The administration of the captured German base was placed in the hands of the Japanese, who held it until the end of the war.

In the South Pacific the German naval base at Samoa was the first to be captured. Resistance was expected, and, accordingly, the Allies did not attack until a large fleet of Australian, New Zealand, British and French warships had gathered. The fleet reached Apia on August 23, and New Zealand marines effected the capture without opposition.

German New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelm's Land), the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands, all lying between the Philippines and Samoa, were taken by British colonial forces. New Pomerania, the principal island of the Bismarcks, was taken by the Australians on September 12, 1914. Rahaul, on the island of New Britain and capital of German New Guinea, was taken by the Australians, September 13. A few days later Bougainville in the Solomon Islands was seized, thus ending the German menace to Australia in that direction.

The Caroline, Marianne and Marshall Islands, lying between the Philippines and Hawaii, also were speedily wrested from German hands. The Carolines were first occupied by Japan, but were turned over to New Zealand forces in September, 1914, though Yap [1] was not occupied

[1] At the close of the war the United States Department of the Navy claimed Yap as a cable station.

until October. The Mariannes also became Allied possessions in October, and on December 9 the Marshall Islands were taken, on which same day the conquest of the Solomons was completed. This closed the roster of Germany's naval bases in the Pacific.

As a naval matter, these captures were of the highest strategical importance. In the very doubtful event of the German High Seas fleet escaping from the North Sea blockade, and attempting a raid on British colonies, the seizure of the naval bases rendered the fleet impotent. Without fuel and repairs a fleet can do nothing. Moreover, if Germany had ever hoped to establish a colonial empire by conquest, she could not do so without a big navy and well-equipped naval bases. The seizure of Kiao-Chau, German Samoa, and the German bases in Polynesia was a more drastic loss to Germany than the sinking of her entire fleet.

"But do you think," queried the War Correspondent, "that the seizure of Shantung Peninsula by the Japanese was justified?"

The Naval Officer opened his eyes in surprise.

"Why not?" he said. "At that time China had not declared war against Germany, and Kiao-Chau and Tsing-Tao were an undoubted menace to Japan. Whatever may be the feeling with regard to the wording of the final Peace Treaty with regard to Shantung — a matter with which, as a Naval Officer, I have nothing to do — it is absolutely without question that Britain and Japan were well within their rights to seize an enemy naval base during a war. It might have been better if the naval proceedings against Germany had been carried out by China, rather than Japan.

since the conditions under which Kiao-Chau first passed into the hands of Germany were open to much question. But China had no navy, at least, no navy with guns powerful enough to have reduced the forts of Tsing-Tao. It was the only important piece of work which was required of the Japanese Navy during the whole war, and it was quickly and neatly done."

"What was the proportionate strength of the Japanese and United States navies at the end of the war?" queried the American.

"A little better than two to one," the Naval Officer replied. "That is, of course, comparing gun-power and speed. There was no ship in the Japanese Navy equal to the latest type American vessel; ship for ship, the Japanese vessels were smaller and weaker; and the Japanese naval programme for the future did not contemplate anything like the increase that was proceeding in the United States. In super-battle-cruisers, alone, Japan's strength was greater, the American Navy not possessing any such vessels at all. The *Kongo, Kirishima, Haruna* and *Hi-Yei* were equal to the famous British 'Cats,' a trifle heavier in gun-power, a trifle slower in speed. In actual fighting strength, it may be said that the American Pacific fleet was about equal to the entire Japanese fleet. In marksmanship, also, the Americans had the advantage."

XXII

DASHES OF DARING OCEAN RAIDERS

COMMERCE raiding is regarded as an entirely legitimate practice in war. It is well to emphasize that,— remarked the Naval Officer — for amid much rightful resentment against German piracy, there was much unjust attack on a great deal of very gallant work done by individual German ships. There is a difference between raiding, piracy and murder. To capture any vessel belonging to an enemy, putting a convoy on board and bringing the prize to a home port, is raiding. In case of need, international law permits the sinking of the vessel if the passengers and crew be saved. In the case of a neutral vessel, the matter is one to be settled by payment of damages, but otherwise is piracy. To sink an unarmed enemy with passengers and crew aboard, is not piracy, but murder. To sink an unarmed vessel belonging to a neutral, with passengers and crew on board, is both piracy and murder and of the blackest and foulest type.

When the war broke out, there were ten German warvessels absent from their home ports. These were the *Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Emden, Nürnberg* and *Leipzig,* in the Pacific; the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* in the Mediterranean; the *Königsberg* on the east coast of Africa, and the *Dresden* and *Karlsruhe* near the West Indies. Many of these engaged in the work of commerce raiding, in

which they were aided by many merchant vessels and passenger lines converted into auxiliary cruisers, such as the *Kronprinz Wilhelm,* the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich,* the *Spreewald,* the *Cap Trafalgar* and others, the most sensational exploits of this latter group being accomplished by the *Moewe* and the *Wolf.* The importance of the *Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Nürnberg* and *Leipzig,* lay in the parts they played in the South Sea battle of Coronel and the Falkland Islands, and that of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* in the naval entanglements of the Mediterranean. The careers of the other four cruisers, which became commerce raiders, were so spectacular as to deserve special mention.

The *Karlsruhe* started her career off Porto Rico, where she was stationed when the war broke out, the first evidence of her presence being a diplomatic protest from the Allies on August 9, 1914, against the *Karlsruhe* coaling at that island. By August 17, she had sunk four merchantmen, by October 3, seven more victims had been sunk, and by December 31 eleven more were listed. The score fell off, then, for only three more ships were claimed up to March 17, on which date came the news that the *Karlsruhe* had been sunk.

The career of the *Dresden* covered a wider area and her end was more definite. She left the West Indies in haste, to ally herself, if possible, with the Pacific squadron. She stopped to capture a couple of merchant vessels on the way, but reached the Pacific fleet under Admiral von Spee toward the end of October. In the fight off Coronel on November 1, 1914, the *Dresden* engaged the auxiliary cruiser *Otranto,* which got away. Following the engagement, the *Dresden* amused herself with one or two more raids and then proceeded around the Horn with the Pacific

French battle-cruiser *Patrie*, which took part in the bombardment of the Dardanelles.

British super-battle-cruiser *Iron Duke*, which took part in the Battle of Jutland.

Photos from Brown Bros.

American dreadnought *Oklahoma*, which helped to keep the freedom of the seas.

CHARACTERISTIC TYPES OF BATTLE CRAFT.

Fleet to take part in the long-delayed German raid on the Falkland Islands.

In the great sea-battle of the Falkland Islands, on December 8, 1914, the *Dresden,* with her turbine engines, was the only ship that escaped. She fled without firing a shot, on seeing that Britain had succeeded in bringing two super-battle-cruisers to that distant corner of the world, to revenge the disaster off Coronel. For three months, thereafter, the *Dresden* hid in holes and corners of that terrible frozen land of Terra del Fuego. Upon her heels was the *Glasgow,* a British cruiser which had been relentlessly pursuing her all along the South American coast. During the battle of the Falklands, the *Glasgow,* the only cruiser with heels enough to catch the *Dresden,* had been engaged with the *Leipzig.*

The *Dresden* got away, rounded the Horn on December 9 and on December 10 anchored in a small channel. There she sent her crew ashore to cut enough wood to enable her to stagger up under half steam to Punta Arenas. In that port she coaled — though in disregard of international law — and left on the 13th. The British heard of this coaling but reached Punta Arenas seventeen hours after the *Dresden* had left. The coast in that wild region is a maze of inlets, all uncharted, and the hunted cruiser hid in Gonzales Channel.

Day in, day out, over 7,000 miles of narrow waters, feeling her way by the lead, crawling round the reefs, in hourly danger, amid Antarctic frosts and the gales of the stormiest region of the world, the *Glasgow* hunted for the *Dresden.* The Germans sneaked out, one foggy night of February 4, and crept stealthily up the Chilian coast. At last, her coal almost exhausted, the *Dresden* was sighted on

March 5, not far from Coronel. The *Kent,* which was also in the hunt, was nearest and dashed north. On the 8th, the sudden lifting of a cloud-bank revealed a sorry-looking spectacle — the *Dresden,* rusted, battered, and almost out of coal.

Foul though her bottom was, she was faster than the *Kent,* but that old cruiser would not be shaken off and straining her engines to the utmost, forced the *Dresden* to burn all her available coal to reach Robinson Crusoe's island, Juan Fernandez. She dropped anchor on March 9. On March 14 the *Glasgow* arrived. One broadside was delivered and the German flag came down. The German captain asked for parley, but the British retorted with a demand for unconditional surrender, whereupon the German Commander blew up his ship. Thus ended the *Dresden.* (See Fig. 20.)

The raiding proclivities of the *Nürnberg,* also in the Falkland Islands battle, and who ended her career there, deserve a word. On the day after the beginning of war, the *Nürnberg* was at Yap, in the Carolines, the chief German wireless station on the Pacific. She disappeared and was lost to sight until September 14, when she sent a landing party ashore at the British cable station at Fanning Island, cut the cables and made prisoners of the British cable officials.

The *Königsberg* had been attached to the Kiao-Chau station and when the war broke out, she steamed for the east coast of Africa. Her record of raided merchant vessels was eleven, but her principal feat was the destruction of an old British cruiser, the *Pegasus,* which lay in the harbor of Zanzibar, being repaired. The *Königsberg* dashed into

the harbor on September 20, and fired till the ship was battered to pieces. But, to the end, a British marine held up the Union Jack. The *Pegasus* thus was lost but not defeated. A systematic hunt was made for the *Königsberg* and on October 30, she was found by the *Chatham*. The German small cruiser, of shallow draught, ran up the Rufigi River in German East Africa. Her heavier foe could not follow, because of the shallowness of the river, neither could she use her guns, for she had no sea-planes to act as scouts and the *Königsberg* was too far up river for her location to be found. Whereupon, two colliers were sunk in the mouth of the river and the *Königsberg* was caught. Like the *Pegasus* she was lost but not defeated. The following summer, on July 11, 1915, aeroplanes located the craft and monitors, with dropping fire, falling over the tropical forest, smashed her to pieces.

But, most spectacular of all, indeed the most spectacular event of the entire war was that of the cruise of the *Emden*. In some ways it may be regarded as the most astounding series of adventures ever recorded in naval history.

The *Emden* steamed from Japanese waters at the same time as the *Königsberg*. Her commander, Capt. Karl von Muller, was a good sailor, a man fertile in expedient and of great gallantry. The *Emden* left the cruiser squadron on August 11 to begin her life as a raider. As the captain said himself: "After a few days, capturing ships became a habit." Six ships were taken in the first month.

On September 23, no less daring an idea than a bombardment of Madras suggested itself. The *Emden* steered straight for the harbor and commenced to fire. The oil tanks soon caught flame, upon which success the raider

turned and went. Three coal ships were among the next eleven ships captured. Von Muller found himself with plenty of coal.

Raising a fourth dummy funnel, to avoid detection, the *Emden* attacked Penang. She passed the French torpedo boat *Mousquet* which, because of the fourth funnel, believed the incoming craft to be the British cruiser *Yarmouth*. In the harbor the *Emden* found the Russian cruiser *Jemtchung*, and promptly fired two torpedoes at 400 yards. Both hit. The crew quarters were heavily shelled simultaneously. In three-quarters of a minute, the *Jemtchung* was gone. The disappearance was startling in its suddenness. The *Mousquet* rushed in to help, but the tiny craft went down at the third broadside. Then the *Emden* started gaily off to destroy the wireless plant at the Cocos Islands. There her long-due retribution found her.

On the night of November 8, 1914, the *Emden* approached the Cocos Islands. Now, all unknown to the German cruiser, and also equally unknown to each other, approaching the Cocos Islands from two different directions were the Australian light cruiser *Melbourne* convoying a fleet of transports, and the Australian light cruiser *Sydney*, acting as a training ship. At half past six in the morning of November 9, the *Emden* appeared before the wireless station. She was recognized as foreign, and, before the plant was destroyed, the operators sent out a general radio message that a warship was approaching the islands. The *Sydney* picked up the call.

The *Sydney* was more powerful than the *Emden*, carrying 6-inch guns, the *Emden* carrying 4.1-inch guns. The bottom of the *Emden* was foul, for she had been in tropical waters for many months without dry-docking; the *Sydney*

FIG. 19. VOYAGE OF THE NOTORIOUS RAIDER *EMDEN*

One of the greatest ocean adventures in history. Track of the *Emden* from her station near German New Guinea at the beginning of the war to her sensational single-handed bombardment of Penang, Calcutta and Madras to Cocos Islands, where she was sunk by the Australian cruiser *Sydney*. Track of the landing party left on Cocos Islands which commandeered a sailing ship, the *Ayesha*, went to Padang, transferred to the *Choising*, then ran the British gauntlet through the Straits of Perim into the Red Sea, landed in Arabia and proceeded to Damascus by camel caravan and thence to Constantinople and Berlin by train.

was clear. Capt. von Muller had already got into the harbor when he sighted the *Sydney*. Without waiting to pick up his landing party, he dashed out in a daring attempt to cripple the larger vessel in a swift stroke and then get away. It was a forlorn hope, but the only one the *Emden* had. The German shooting was excellent, and the plan almost succeeded. The *Sydney* was hit ten times, but as it chanced, not vitally.

Then the *Sydney* drew out of range, and having 6-inch guns against 4's, pounded the *Emden* at leisure. In less than an hour two of the raider's funnels, her foremast and her upperworks were shot away; she was afire fore and aft. Von Muller, seeing all hope gone, headed for North Keeling Island and ran his ship aground.

For almost half an hour the captain of the *Sydney* implored the captain of the *Emden* to accept an honorable surrender. Von Muller refused. Approaching close, the *Sydney* then smashed the raider from stem to stern. Not until the afternoon, even then, was the German flag hauled down. A few wounded men escaped to the land, where, after a fearful night, they were rescued by the British. The *Emden* was no more.

There was a landing party still to be accounted for, in charge of Capt. Mucke. With swift resourcefulness, this commander seized a three-masted schooner, the *Ayesha*, which lay off shore, and sailed away. He sailed by Padang in Sumatra and finally met a German coaster, the *Choising*. The party boarded the *Choising* on December 16, 1914, and the *Ayesha* was scuttled so as to leave no clue. On January 7, 1915, the *Choising* made her way through the Straits of Perim and the Germans were landed on a part of the coast where the Arabs were friendly to Germany.

The fever-racked and exhausted men stayed two months in the up-country to get stronger. Thence in small sailing sjambuks, Capt. Mucke went northwards on the Red Sea, as far as Lith. At that point a camel caravan was engaged which took the party to Damascus. Thence he proceeded by rail to Haidar Pasha, and so to Constantinople and Berlin, ending one of the strangest wanderings on sea and land that has ever been recorded in history.

Of the converted liners much might be said, but the naval value of their acts was small. The *Prinz Eitel Frederick* roved the seas for seven months, sent eight ships to the bottom — one of them an American vessel — and, putting into Newport News, Va., for repairs, on March 10, 1915, was interned. The *Kronprinz Wilhelm,* which left New York on the evening that England declared war, became a stationary wireless station in mid-Atlantic and a coaling base for the *Karlsruhe.* She put into Hampton Roads on April 11, 1915 and was interned.

The exploits of the *Moewe* were even more sensational than the other auxiliary cruisers. She left Bremerhaven, December 20, 1915, dodged the British blockade — no mean feat in itself — and ran down the English Channel, leaving a chain of mines, one of which sank the British battleship *King Edward VII* on January 9, 1916. On February 1, a big steamer entered Hampton Roads, flying a German flag, as the raiders *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* and the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* had done before. But this steamer, far from being a raider, was a victim. She was the *Appam,* under a German prize crew. The *Appam* was interned, although the right of the United States to do so was disputed. She had carried $250,000 in gold bars. They stayed on the *Moewe.* On February 20, 1916, an-

other prize put into Santa Cruz de Teneriffe. Altogether, the *Moewe* disposed of seventeen ships, fifteen sunk and two prizes. British pride was galled and orders were sent to capture the raider at all hazards. But the captain of the *Moewe* struck up towards Iceland and cheated the British blockade in, as he had threaded it out, arriving safe in Wilhelmshaven March 5, 1916, with a long record of successes and his safe full of gold bars.

The raider *Seeadler,* fitted up as a motor schooner had an equally picturesque career but one that was less successful. Disguised as a lumber carrier, she left Bremerhaven on December 24, 1916, passed inspection from a British patrol boat, all her crew speaking Norwegian and her guns being hidden under the cargo. She sank thirteen merchant vessels in the Atlantic and three American schooners in the Pacific. At last, after six months of raiding, the *Seeadler* dropped anchor on a supposedly uninhabited islet near Tahiti, to make repairs. But the Germans were wrong in supposing the islet to be uninhabited. It had a population of three Tahitians employed in making copra and raising pigs for a French firm. Part of the *Seeadler's* crew went to Fiji to try and find another vessel. The rest of the crew under Lieut. King seized the schooner *Luteci* which was sent to get the copra and set to sea but the schooner was lost, the crew being rescued by a Chilean vessel. The captain was captured at Fiji and imprisoned.

The raider *Wolf,* carrying a sea-plane, ran the gauntlet of the British blockade and managed to escape capture for fifteen months in the Indian Ocean, sinking eleven vessels, among them a Spanish collier the *Ignotz Mendi.* The latter with a prize crew was sent to Germany but was wrecked on the Danish coast. The *Wolf* reached Germany

safely on February 24, 1918. That was the last attempt. Raiding took the form of submarine attack rather than auxiliary cruiser dashes and a new type of naval warfare was begun.

XXIII

NAVAL ACTIONS IN THE SOUTH SEAS

IN what has been said of the commerce raiders — continued the Naval Officer — mention has several times been made of the Pacific fleet, to which the raiders *Dresden, Nürnberg* and *Leipzig* were attached. This German Pacific Fleet defeated the British in one sharp action off Coronel, Chili, and was, in turn, annihilated. The two engagements are closely interlocked.

When the war broke out, the armored cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau,* the former being the flagship of Admiral von Spee, were cruising in Caroline Island waters, the *Nürnberg* was near Samoa, the *Leipzig* was near the Pacific coast of Mexico, and the *Dresden* was in the West Indies, from which point she sailed at once through the South Atlantic to join von Spee.

Although the Australian fleet in the south, and the Japanese fleet to the north, hunted diligently for von Spee, they did not find him. The first news of his whereabouts came on September 22, when the German fleet bombarded Tahiti in the Society Islands — a useless waste of ammunition which von Spee lived to regret. He provisioned in the Marquesas Islands, touched Easter Island, Juan Fernandez and finally Valparaiso, then steamed back to Easter Island where he met much-needed German colliers.

Now, in addition to the Australian fleet (which, soon

after the opening of the war, was dispersed, the cruiser *Australia* being needed in the North Sea), and the Japanese fleet, which had its own part of the oceans to patrol, there was also a small and ill-balanced British squadron in South Atlantic waters. This squadron was hunting for the German light cruisers *Dresden, Nürnberg* and *Leipzig* and consisted of the very aged pre-Dreadnought battleship *Canopus,* with a doddering speed of fourteen knots, the aged armored cruiser *Good Hope,* the old light cruiser *Monmouth,* and the light cruiser *Glasgow,* the latter modern and well-gunned.

Neither of these two fleets knew the strength of the other. When Cradock, the British admiral, sighted the first of the enemy's ships, he forced the fight. Not until the mist cleared did Cradock realize that he had the whole German Pacific fleet against him. It was then too late to run. He tried to edge in towards the land, so that the conditions of the afternoon light should favor his shooting, but the superior speed of the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau* enabled them to get the desired position. Von Spee, having thus thrust the British against the western horizon, deliberately waited until the glare of the setting sun should pass. Then, with the British ships silhouetted against the bright sunset sky, he opened fire at five miles. With so clear a mark and at that distance he could not miss. The battle lasted only fifty-two minutes. At the second salvo the *Scharnhorst* hit the *Good Hope,* and the *Gneisenau* hit the *Monmouth.* At the third salvo both were set on fire. Not a man was saved from either. When dark came on and the *Glasgow* — which had been engaged with the *Leipzig* — saw that nothing could be done to save the day, she speeded off to warn the slow *Canopus* — which never had

FIG. 20. BATTLES IN THE SOUTH SEAS

Track of the German cruiser *Dresden* from her station at the West Indies at the beginning of the war to the German concentration at Easter Island thence to the German victory off Coronel, thence to the British victory of the Falklands (from which the *Dresden* was the only German vessel to escape), thence to her winter hiding place near Magellan Straits and thence to Robinson Crusoe's Island, where she was sunk by the British cruiser *Glasgow*.

a chance to get near the fighting — that the Pacific fleet was at their heels. As fast as the *Canopus* could move, the two remaining vessels struck back through the straits to the Falkland Islands.

To say that the British Navy was mortified is to put it mildly. A vengeance, swift and sure, must be meted out to von Spee. With an extraordinary secrecy — more than extraordinary in these days of secret service, spies and wireless — England sent the battle cruisers *Invincible* and *Inflexible* to the scene. The *Bristol,* sister ship to the *Glasgow,* hurried down from the West Indies, where she had exchanged shots with the raider *Karlsruhe.* The old *Cornwall* and *Kent,* sister ships to the *Monmouth* which had been sunk in the action off Coronel, and the armored cruiser *Carnarvon,* joined the punitive squadron. The *Glasgow,* which had docked for repairs at Rio de Janeiro, joined the fleet, which swept down to the Falkland Islands on the evening of December 7. The old *Canopus* had been run aground and turned into a land fort. Her 12-inch guns could hold the harbor of Port Stanley against any guns that von Spee could boast.

Sometimes fate plays into the hands of battle. It was so in this case. Twelve hours after the arrival of the squadron, von Spee's fleet was sighted near the Falkland Islands. The *Invincible* and the *Inflexible* were coaling, had been coaling since 3:30 A. M. Their bunkers were full enough for action. Moreover, in a climate where the weather is not clear more than twenty or thirty days in a year, that particular day was bright and the sea calm.

The action was opened by the *Canopus,* who, stuck in the mud, fired a couple of shots at a distance of six miles. Von Spee knew the *Canopus* and cared nothing for the old

tub. Out of the harbor steamed the light cruisers *Glasgow,* the *Kent* and the *Carnarvon.* Seeing so few and such weak vessels coming out to do battle, "the Germans laughed till their sides ached," said an eye-witness, later a prisoner.

Then, from behind the low cliff of the harbor, loomed the mighty *Invincible* and *Inflexible,* turbine-driven, with a 27-knot speed and eight modern 12-inch guns in huge turrets. A 12-inch gun is to an 8-inch gun as a lion compared to a tom-cat. The Germans laughed no more. The day was young, the sky was clear, the sea was smooth. There was no escape. Von Spee's men saw that their time had come to die.

The British admiral had all day, he had the advantage of speed and of gun-power. He chose the waiting long-range game. A few minutes before one o'clock, the *Invincible* opened fire at 18,000 yards, approximately ten miles. For three hours and a half, the *Scharnhorst,* a flaming furnace within and a charnel-house of horror, managed to keep afloat, the huge 12-inch shells hitting her ever and again. The Germans fought most gallantly, as long as a gun could be manned or there was a man to work it. At 4:16 she sank. The *Gneisenau* floated a trifle more than an hour longer. Only 108 men were saved from the *Gneisenau,* none from the *Scharnhorst.*

The marvel of that day was the deed of the aged *Kent,* who succeeded in catching the much faster *Nürnberg* and sank her. It was a fight won by the Black Gang below, for the fires were fed with the life-boats, with the furniture from the officers' cabins, with everything that would burn. Seventeen knots was supposed to be the *Kent's*

best, but by some miracle she made higher than the *Nürnberg's* twenty-one knots, and revenged the *Monmouth.* At the same time, the *Glasgow,* anxious for revenge for Coronel, overhauled the *Leipzig* and sent her to the bottom. The *Bristol* was sent in pursuit of von Spee's transports and colliers, and sank them every one. Only the *Dresden* escaped, and, as has been told, three months later, she was discovered at Juan Fernandez' Island and sent to the bottom by her own commander. So ended the German Pacific fleet, the only German ships not blockaded in their own home ports and fearful to come out. The German navy was silenced. The seas were free.

"You seem to suggest," said the War Correspondent, "that only the big gun can maintain the freedom of the seas. How about international agreement, which would allow for the abolition of big navies?"

"I am a naval man, not a diplomat," the officer replied, "and, to me, the idea of freedom of the seas without navies, is as impossible as the freedom of the city streets without police. If all nations were guileless, perhaps; if all individuals were guileless, perhaps.

"But when you realize that a raider, like the *Emden,* the *Dresden* or the *Karlsruhe* can elude the British fleet for many months; that a handful of vessels, sixteen in all, could with a few weeks sink over 120 merchant vessels at a loss of approximately a billion dollars, you can see how easily piracy could begin on an unpoliced sea. Smuggling and slave-running could be resumed at will.

"To me there is nothing more striking that has developed out of the Great War than the fact that the mere

bigness of the British navy saved the Allies from having to fight and sink the German High Seas fleet, at a terrible cost of German and British lives. Peace is the offspring of Preparedness."

XXIV

THE AUSTRIAN FIASCO IN SERBIA

"WHEN the French, British and Belgian armies had dug in for the winter of 1914–1915, thus establishing the western battle-line," said the Chief of Staff, "a deadlock on land was created which lasted for nearly four years. Likewise, when the British Navy had swept the oceans clear of German vessels, a deadlock at sea was formed which — except for the Battle of Jutland — continued to the end of the war. We may now, therefore, turn our attention to the eastern fronts, Serbia, Russia and Asia Minor, where the fighting was equally desperate and the diplomatic issues even more precarious."

He turned to the Military Expert.

"Since the war on the eastern front began with the Serbian question," he said, "that campaign is the first for presentation."

The Military Expert bowed.

Not only was Austria's ultimatum to Serbia the first diplomatic entanglement of the World War — he began — but the first shots fired in the World War were those exchanged across the River Danube on July 27. The first invasion of the war was made by Austria at Mitrovitza, a week before Germany's invasions of Belgium, Luxemburg at France. The crushing of Serbia was the first item in the programme of the Central Powers.

The respective strengths of the two nations were striking. At most, with all reserves, and including the Montenegrins, the Serbians could not muster more than 300,000 men. The Austrian Army had 1,000,000 men on a war footing, could summon further reserves and could call on Germany for aid. Besides which, the Austrian heavy artillery was the best in the world, for it is to be remembered that Germany's most powerful guns came from the Austrian works in Skoda, not from the German Krupp works in Essen.

On the other hand, the topography of Serbia was such that small numbers of men could be used defensively to great advantage. A rugged country, with the rocky mountain chains running in irregular directions and almost destitute of good roads, it was a territory ill-adapted to the movements of heavy artillery. Austria's military preponderance, therefore, was greatly lessened by Serbia's natural strength of position. This explains much of the Austrian failure that followed.

There were three Austrian invasions of Serbia. To sum the results up tersely, it may be said that the first was a disgrace, the second a blunder, and the third a disaster.

The First Invasion developed slowly, so slowly that it became evident that Austria was waiting to see what Germany would do. On July 25, 1914, the Austrian minister left Belgrade. On July 26, Serbia mobilized. On July 27, although war had not yet been declared, the Austrians crossed the Save at Mitrovitza. On July 28 Austria declared war. On July 29, the bombardment of Belgrade began.

Then Austria stopped. The evident intention of Great

Britain to enter the war — which the Central Powers had not expected — sent cold shivers down Austria's back. She wished herself out of the scrape. The defence of Liége, during the early days of August, was not calculated

FIG. 21. AUSTRIAN INVASIONS IN SERBIA

Note the mountain passes by which the Plain of Valievo must be reached. Note also the single railroad line which serves the whole of Northern Serbia. Note also the exposed position of Belgrade, causing the removal of the capital to Nish.

to hearten Germany's ally. But the Kaiser, realizing that Austria's dilatoriness reflected on Germany's power to hold her allies in line, forced the Dual Monarchy into conflict.

Even then, it was not until August 12 that the Austrians attacked in force across the Drina River, near Loznitza. The point was well chosen, being only lightly held by the Serbians. The Austrians threw 70,000 men across into Serbia at that point, 50,000 at Shabatz, and 10,000 men each at four other crossings. On this first day of the

mass-invasion, therefore, Austria had thrown 160,000 men into Serbian territory.

This was not quite as able a feat as it sounds. The Austrian generals were text-book officers, the Serbian generals were veterans who had served in the two Balkan Wars, and who, indeed, had always been more or less on the fighting line. The Serbians were wise enough not to dispute the crossing of a flat-banked river against a superior force. Instead, they occupied and held the Tser mountain heights, commanding the plain on to which the Austrian armies had debouched.

Moreover, the Austrians took matters leisurely. They allowed their forces to divide on either side of the Tser mountains in an effort to reach the Valievo Plateau from two sides, and, on August 14, tried to storm the heights between. The Austrians had never smelt powder. The Serbians were veterans. In any war, green troops are useless unless brigaded for a time with seasoned forces. The Austrians could not be made to face the galling fire from the Serbian heights. They turned tail within an hour. The Serbians, fully at home in guerilla warfare, charged down at the invaders with bayonets and hand grenades. The Austrians fled in utter rout.

The artillery tried to cover this defeat, and, to their credit be it said, succeeded in gaining, here and there, an isolated spur of the ridge. But the Serbian artillery commanders had already posted big guns on all the dominating points and the Austrian gun positions were untenable.

On the 17th and 18th, the two Austrian armies again tried to force their way through the passes for a junction on the plain beyond. They never had a chance. Not only machine-gun and shrapnel fire rattled and roared above them,

but avalanches of rocks fell on their heads from the hills above. On the 19th the last Austrian gun was dislodged from the spurs gained the first day. On the 20th the army ran ignominiously, deserting stores, guns, munitions, and not even trying to take their wounded with them. By August 24, the last Austrian soldier — save for 4,000 prisoners and 6,000 dead — had retreated across the Drina River and Serbia had won an impressive, though costly victory.

The Second Invasion was handled otherwise. It was an effort to take Serbia piecemeal. Early in September, first at one point, then at another, the Austrians crossed, not advancing more than a few miles at a time and intrenching as they went. The Serbs countered this move by an invasion of Bosnia on September 8. The Austrians decided to try and meet the Serbians at their own game, and, both in Bosnia and in Serbia, guerilla warfare began, terrific hand-to-hand tussles being waged with the knife and bayonet.

The Austrians had no liking for this form of combat, and, man for man, they were far inferior to the Serbians. The invasion of Serbia was stopped, again without the Austrian armies having reached the desired Valievo Plain. The Austrians, indeed, were intrenched on the further side of the Drina, but to reach this position had cost them 150,000 men, and the strategical positions were all held against them.

There came, then, the news of the Battle of the Marne, and Austria's realization that her great ally had failed. She would have been glad to give up, now, but it was too late. For weal or woe, she had to go on.

The Montenegrins and the Serbians, moreover, were having a series of uninterrupted successes in their invasion. On September 11, Folcha and Semlin were taken, on Sep-

tember 16 the Montenegrins defeated the Austrians near Koulilovo, and on September 21, the Serbs gained an important victory near Koran. Serajevo, the capital, came under fire of Jugoslav guns on September 30, and the defending force was severely handled by the Montenegrins on October 13, the forts being captured on October 19. Five days later, the tide began to turn, and the fighting in Bosnia took an acute form. By the beginning of November the Serbians were retreating sullenly, the concentration of forces against them becoming too heavy for continued invasion of Bosnia.

It took forty days for Austria to summon up the energy for another advance. This third invasion was to be of another character than the two preceding. The full force of Austria was to be thrown against Serbia, since success in that field would counteract the defeats of Germany and Austria at the hands of the Russians in the Galician campaign. Realizing, at last, the character of the country and the type of fighting, all the available mountain artillery was concentrated at the frontier and tens of thousands of mules were brought to try and haul the guns along the rocky defiles which the Serbian regard as roads.

The Third Invasion was hurled forward on November 15, 1914. At least 400,000 men were used, picked troops, mainly from mountain territory. The Tyroleans held the point of honor in the forefront of the advance. The handling of these large masses of men, among those saw-tooth mountains, was excellent. From three different points, on November 20, the heights were stormed simultaneously, and guns innumerable climbed the hills like ants going up a wall.

The Serbians resisted with the stubborn gallantry that always distinguished their fighting, but on November 21,

the center of the line collapsed. By November 24, the southern end was flanked. The northern end of the line could not be budged, but, foot by foot, the Austrians pressed on. More than 170,000 men threatened Belgrade. It seemed as though Serbia were doomed, for the capture of Belgrade would mean the loss of the railroad key of Serbia. It fell on December 2.

Then, under a new Commander-in-Chief, General Mishitch, the defenders abandoned all defensive tactics. On December 9, Mishitch flung every man he had under his command into a sudden and wild offensive charge, right at the very center of the Austrian lines. It was not in human power to resist such an onslaught. The lines broke and the Serbians cut and slashed into the invading foe.

Over paths only used by goats, reckless troops of cavalry dashed; machine-guns seemed to have wings, so suddenly did they appear at points commanding a pass below. Every ravine became a death-trap. The Plain of Valievo, the proud achievement of the Third Invasion, was swept clear of every invader in six hours. This threw the Austrian flight back into those awful defiles under the frowning shadow of the Tser Mountains where the first two invasions had come to their downfall.

Before that week was over, the old crossing places of Loznitza and Shabatz saw the last Austrian soldier turn his back on the Serbia that his country had insulted and defamed, and which she was destined never to conquer without the aid of another Power. Belgrade was reoccupied on December 16. For nearly a year thereafter, not an invader dared set foot on Serbian soil.

XXV

THE RUSSIAN STEAM ROLLER

"I AM taking the liberty," remarked the Military Expert, at the next meeting of the Conclave of Five, "to present the military aspect of the Russian campaigns prior to the presentation by my friend, Mr. Diplomat, of the very complicated issues that occurred in Russia during the war. This I am doing because, like nearly all the battle-fronts in the autumn of 1914, these campaigns were clear cut and decisive from the outbreak of war until the closing down of the winter. There were two Russian campaigns during this period, one against Austria, the other against Germany, I purpose to deal with the Austrian campaign first."

It will be remembered — he resumed — that while Austria was the aggressor against Serbia, Russia was the aggressor against Austria. Aggression carries with it the necessity of taking the first hostile step. In war, it almost invariably happens that the aggressor is also the invader. Therefore Austria invaded Serbia and Russia invaded Austria., Or, to put the matter another way, Serbia took up a defensive position against Austria, and Austria took up a defensive position against Russia.

This necessity of aggression placed Russia at a great disadvantage. Her tactics, from time immemorial, have

been those of gradual retreat over her huge territory, with flying cavalry action to cut off the enemy's base of supply. Tactically, therefore, invasion was an undesired strategy. Moreover, owing to lack of strategic railways and wretched highways, Russian mobilization was disorderly and slow, and invasion, regarded from the viewpoint of military

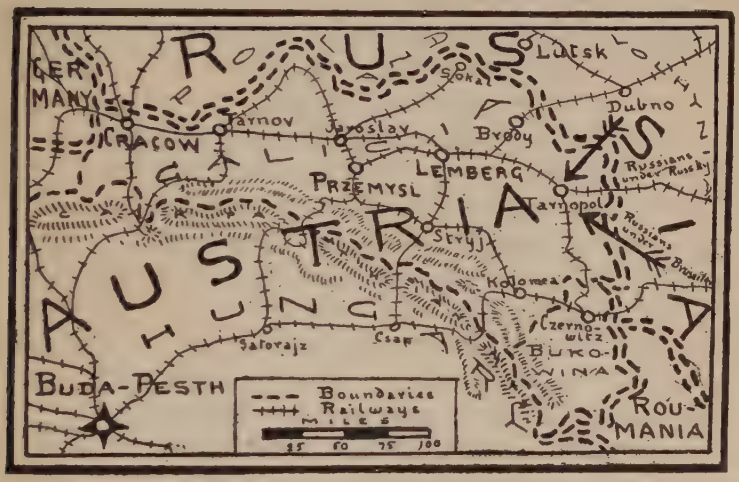


FIG. 22. RUSSIAN INVASION OF AUSTRIA

Note concentration of main armies on Tarnopol. Note the importance of Lemberg, Przemysl and Jaroslav in control of the only four railroads crossing the high mountain passes of the Carpathian Range.

strategy, requires swiftness and good co-ordination of action.

Owing to the configuration of the country, it was sure that the Russian invasion of Austria would strike at the important points of the town of Lemberg and the fortress of Przemysl. The capture of these points would give the control of the whole province of Galicia (Austrian Poland) and, furthermore, would provide a good base from which

to attempt the passage of the Carpathian Mountains into the Hungarian plain.

Austria, therefore, took up a strong defensive position in advance of these points, at the same time throwing forward into Russian territory the First Austrian Army under General Dankl. Characteristically unready, the Russians retreated before Dankl at the first brush, and took up their defensive position on the River Bug. For a week, thus, there was an Austrian-Russian deadlock. This deadlock lasted from August 5 to August 12.

On the latter date, the Russian Army was sufficiently well mobilized to advance. The steam-roller began to roll. Against its slow forward movement the Austrians were powerless. On August 13, the important point of Sokal fell into Russian hands. On August 14 an army of not less than 250,000 men, under General Brussilov, effected a junction with the main Russian Army at Tarnopol. Clouds of Cossack cavalry, operating in front of the main armies, kept the Austrians in ignorance of Russian movements.

By August 17, Dankl began to find the pressure on him so great that he was compelled to abandon his advance. On August 18, the pressure of the Russian center, under General Russky, began to bend the strongest point of the Austrian line. Meanwhile, Brussilov had seized all the Austrian railways and rolling stock at the frontier, and was organizing the transport system of the entire campaign.

Lemberg, a town of 250,000 inhabitants, the capital of Galicia and a railroad point of the first order, was obviously the key to the situation. The capture of Lemberg was a good example of steam-roller tactics. The Battle of Lemberg, if it may be so called, lasted from August 23 to September 3.

The city lies on a plain between two river valleys, the River Dneister to the south of it, the River Bug to the north-east. The fortress of Przemysl backs it, and behind rise the Carpathian Mountains. To prevent escape, both these rivers must be first taken by the Russians. Operating slowly, but very heavily, Brussilov concentrated his Cossacks to the south and captured the Dneister bank, consolidating the position with heavy artillery. The first Cossack charge in that section was made on August 26, and by September 1, the bank was firmly held.

At the same time, Russky's army swung north, and cut off Dankl, thus not only securing the banks of the River Bug, but also dividing the Austrian force in two. Lemberg was thus pinched between two huge armies. Delay meant a bombardment from two sides. On September 2, the Austrians evacuated the city, and on September 3, the capital of Galicia was in Russian hands.

This left Dankl in an unhappy situation. The First Russian Army, under General von Plehve, could not afford to swing its left in a flanking movement to surround the Austrians, but it could and did advance. On September 4, Dankl was in full retreat. He handled his troops well, however, and crossed the River San under heavy fire, in perfect order. On the opposite side of the San, Dankl reformed, but the pursuit had been too close to enable the complete destruction of the bridges. The Battle of the San was long and costly. It began on September 12 and lasted until September 17, but the Russians almost surrounded Dankl and sent him flying headlong back, seizing, meanwhile, vast stores of munitions and supplies.

Meanwhile, Russky and Brussilov had been playing on the fortress of Przemysl the same trick which had proved so

successful at Lemberg. By September 20, railroad communication with the fortress had been cut off, and it was almost entirely surrounded. Bombardment began on September 21 and lasted until October 2, on which day the Russians offered to accept the surrender of the city. The commander of the garrison refused.

The storming of Przemysl began in the evening of October 2. It continued night and day. A strong natural position, amply provided with provisions and munitions, Przemysl once more proved what Le Grand Couronné and Verdun proved — the difficulty of taking with infantry a point held by modern artillery. By October 5, the Russians indeed carried some of the outer works, but with such terrific and staggering losses that the attack could not be continued. On October 6, it became certain that the Russion attack was weakening, and by October 7, the defenders of Przemysl could gain a moment's breath. The steam-roller had recoiled.

Germany came to Austria's aid. A German-Austrian army, flanking Brussilov to the south, retook Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina. To the north of Brussilov, the Austrians retook Jaroslav.

Important though these captures were, they did not dislodge Brussilov and Russky. More Russian reserves came up, and Jaroslav, on November 5, once more came into Russian hands. That same day the important strategic point of Dandomierz also was seized by the Czar's armies and the steam-roller commenced to roll onwards until the armies halted before the important city of Cracow, thus giving them control of the greater part of the province of Galicia.

The first attack on Cracow, on November 20, however,

showed that the Austrians were as well prepared for the defensive as they had been at Przemysl. Winter was coming on. The Carpathian passes would be filled with snow and impassable. The line from Przemysl to Cracow lent itself to the most complete military defence. The Austrians dug in there for the winter. Thence, not only could the Russians not move then, but, from time to time, sorties in force drove the Russians out of their first line trenches and solidified the Austrian position.

XXVI

THE BATTLE OF TANNENBERG

RUSSIA'S principal military difficulties in the opening of the campaigns of the Great War lay, as has been said, in the compulsion of aggressive tactics that was forced upon her by her own action in espousing the cause of Serbia. When at last the steam-roller began to move, these aggressive tactics proved enormously successful in the Galician campaign, to the south. They proved an utter failure in the East Prussia campaign to the north, and ended in the disaster of Tannenberg, a battle of such tremendous significance as to rival the Battle of the Marne in importance. It was the decisive battle of the Russian-German campaign.

The Russian advance movement was two-fold. The Austrian campaign had for its goal the conquest of Galicia, which was achieved by the capture of Lemberg and Przemysl, the defeat of Dankl's army, and the intrenchment at the foot of the Carpathians. The Russian-German campaign had for its goal no less an aim than a march on Berlin. This was not far from success and might have been achieved but for the Czar's treachery and for von Hindenburg's extraordinarily brilliant maneuver in the ambush among the Masurian Lakes, near Tannenberg.

As in the south, so in the north, Russian mobilization lagged. In similar fashion, also, diffuse bodies of Cossack

cavalry served as a screen to hide the Russian military moves. Behind this screen gathered two Russian armies of 200,000 men each, the northern on the Niemen River at the north-east corner of East Prussia, under General von Rennenkampf; the southern on the Narew River at the south-east corner of East Prussia, under General Samsonov.

The Russian main advance began August 11. It developed slowly, but with a shouldering force. The northern army, under von Rennenkampf, drove straight into German territory. It gained in speed as well as in force as it advanced, and the garrison of Königsberg was sent forward to halt the Russians.

The Germans, however, had no conception of the size of the opposing army. They had less than 75,000 men to oppose the 200,000 of von Rennenkampf. Moreover, the flat ground of that section was ill-adapted for defence. A skirmish at Stallupohnen on August 17 showed the Russians in such numbers that the Germans fell back. At Gumbinnen, on August 20, a fifteen-hour defense was made, but the steam-roller rolled on. The Germans retreated to Insterburg. By August 23, von Rennenkampf was within striking distance of Königsberg, perhaps the most important fortress on the Baltic Sea. Its fall would leave the road to Berlin open to the invading Russian troops.

The southern army, under Samsonov, with its base in Warsaw, possessed for transport two railroads, one to the west via Mlawa and Soldau, the other to the east via Bialostok, Lyck and Ortelsburg. The key to this situation was the junction of Eylau, which controlled the five lines running to Königsberg. If Eylau fell into Russian hands, Königsberg could only be supplied from the sea.

At this point entered two important factors, the character of the country, and the technical knowledge of the German commander. They were curiously connected. Let the topography be considered first.

The region of the Masurian Lakes is a country of quagmires, bogs, swamps and lakes. It is flat and infertile.

FIG. 23. SCENE OF THE DISASTER OF TANNENBERG
Note the "square" of railroads Eylau-Allenstein-Ortelsburg-Soldau and the marshes wherein the Russian army was entrapped (the place marked by a cross).

There are no hills suitable for artillery positions. At the same time, a bog or a lake is as good a natural military barrier as a mountain range, providing that it can be defended. Railroads, in such a type of country, are of transcendent importance, not only for the actual train traffic, but because the right-of-way, being elevated above the swamp, affords an excellent highway for marching troops. Second only in importance to possession of the railroads is the accurate knowledge of the footpaths which intersect

such kinds of country, paths used only by the local peasantry.

Encircling the most boggy section of this desolate Masurian country was a rectangle of railroads. This was almost diamond-shaped. Eylau, the key to the whole, was the western point of the diamond; Allenstein and Soldau were the northern and southern points, respectively; Ortelsburg was the eastern point. The little hamlet (it was scarcely a village) of Tannenberg was in the middle. Since none of the railroads touched it, Tannenberg could only be reached by devious paths through the morasses. A knowledge of these roads, therefore, would be of incalculable value to an army operating in this section.

Paul von Hindenburg, whose home was in Hanover, was the German military expert on the "Land of the Masurian Lakes." In the Military Staff College at Berlin, he was the official lecturer on this frontier. He had ridden every path on horseback, had drawn maps of every acre of it with his own hands, knew intimately every ford and crossing, and it had been his influence which prevented the drainage of those swamps when a project to reclaim them for agricultural purposes was presented before the German parliament. It was he who persuaded the Kaiser that their defensive value was greater than the agricultural gain which might accrue.

When, therefore, the Russians under Samsonov menaced this very point, von Hindenburg was hurried forward to take command of the troops in this treacherous hotchpotch of hard clay, soft clay, solid gravel, sinking sand, quagmire, morass and bog. He, and he only, knew where cavalry might travel; he, and he only, had mapped out in advance the few possible artillery positions. It had been

the labor of his life to know that section and he knew it well.

Before von Hindenburg had been hurried forward, the Russians had already seized three points of the diamond. They held Soldau, Ortelsburg and Allenstein. These were of high importance, but this importance was overestimated. The points were held only as railroad stations. They had not been consolidated as formidable advance positions. As a matter of fact, they were lightly held by small bodies of troops.

Here Samsonov's strategy was egregiously at fault. If he had thrown all his force against Eylau, early in the invasion, the Russian commander would have held the key, and it would have been hard to dislodge him. To do so, however, he would have been compelled to send the largest part of his troops by the western line, through Soldau, and such tactics would have thinned the line between his army and that of von Rennenkampf. Samsonov could not know whether or not there was a strong German Army near Königsberg, and he did not dare lay himself open to a possible German attack which would isolate his army from that of von Rennenkampf. Accordingly, he adopted the slower and more cautious policy, sent most of his troops by the eastern branch and thus kept in close touch with the northern army.

Because of this, it was not until August 22, that the Russians were massed at Soldau, the southern point of the diamond, ready to descend in force upon Eylau, the western point and the key. It was on that very day that von Hindenburg was sent to take command. Including all his reserves, he had available, in that section, about 125,000 men against Samsonov's 200,000.

That very night von Hindenburg made a feint attack. It had no other purpose than to puzzle Samsonov. as to the numbers confronting him. In this it succeeded. The Russian commander held back his plans for a descent upon Eylau and commenced to move more of his troops from Ortelsburg to Soldau, an easy feat, for he held the railroad running between those two points.

Then, on August 26, his men having trickled through the swamps by the paths known only to their commander, von Hindenburg attacked sharply at Soldau. Taken utterly by surprise, and amazed at this uncanny appearance of thousands of men seeming to arise out of the bog, the Russians retreated. In forty minutes Soldau was in the hands of von Hindenburg.

Furious at this check, Samsonov counter-attacked next day in huge numbers. But it was useless. He had nothing but the bare railroad track to fight from, and von Hindenburg — who knew the location of every little clump of woodland which was solid enough to support a gun — had, during the night, made Soldau impregnable.

This forty-minute victory, in a large measure, was decisive. Not only did it absolutely remove Eylau from the danger of seizure, and thus keep the Königsberg railways open, but it did far more. It will be remembered that Soldau was the point on the Warsaw line by which all the left wing of Samsonov's army had been supplied. The capture of Soldau by von Hindenburg, cut off Samsonov's main line of communication with Warsaw. It left him only the much smaller and more roundabout line to Ortelsburg. And it cannot be too often emphasized that a modern army ill-supplied is an army at the point of defeat.

On this same day of Samsonov's counter-attack, August

27, von Hindenburg sent other small groups through the marshes northward, to surround the northern point of the diamond, the railroad station at Allenstein. Then, as before, controlling the Eylau road, von Hindenburg launched another swift attack at Allenstein, attacking the little station on both flanks as well as frontally. It would have been suicidal for Samsonov to try and hold this point, for, knowing the marshes, the Germans could have cut him off in the rear, seizing the track between Allenstein and Ortelsburg. The Russians retreated instantly, and, on August 28, Allenstein fell into German hands.

Thus, within two days, instead of holding only one of the points of the diamond, von Hindenburg held three. The only railroad line left to the Russians was that from Ortelsburg to Warsaw, via Lyck. In order to control Ortelsburg, however, Samsonov kept his men well out toward Allenstein and prepared for the German mass attack, which he expected hourly.

Von Hindenburg, however, had other plans. With his intimate knowledge of every footpath, with personally prepared large-scale maps in which every tussock of grass and every foot of quagmire was delineated, the German commander was able to direct his troops by long and circuitous paths through sections where it would seem that only wading birds could tread. Company by company, regiment by regiment, gun by gun, the Germans circled outwardly until they reached a point east of the easternmost line of railroad, or, in other words, absolutely in the Russian rear.

There, in the dawn of August 30, the German Army rose up out of the mud, tens of thousands strong, and smote the Russians from that unexpected quarter. A flanking party cut the railroad line from Ortelsburg to Lyck,

isolating Ortelsburg and penning the Russians in a trap. Then, foot by foot, von Hindenburg forced the enemy into the interior of this diamond, to find what footing they could in the mud and slime. There was no escape. The railroad track, on all four sides, bristled with German machine guns.

Then, at last, at long last, von Hindenburg moved with his main army which had gradually been concentrating at Tannenberg, in the centre of the swamps. The German Army pressed forward, driving the Russians up against that angle of death, the railroad tracks, where every few yards displayed a quick-firing gun mounted on a flat car, or a machine-gun nest.

In that small triangle of which the two converging railroad lines running into Ortelsburg were the sides, and the army moving up from Tannenberg was the base, 20,000 men were actually sucked up alive in the quagmire and bogs, 10,000 men were shot in less than two hours, and 30,000 were taken prisoners.

Of Samsonov's huge army, less than 100,000 escaped that terrible week with von Hindenburg in the Masurian Lakes, and the remnant that did remain was utterly demoralized, without supplies, without guns, without horses, and only able to retreat toward Russia by recapturing the single-track line through Lyck. It was more than a mere defeat, it was a disaster of the first magnitude. Never again would the Russian armies threaten an advance on Berlin. As the Battle of the Marne stopped Germany, so the Battle of Tannenberg stopped Russia.

True, von Rennenkampf remained, with an unshaken army, but von Hindenburg repeated his deadly maneuvers, and, once more showing his detailed knowledge of the

swamps, he flanked von Rennenkampf and all but forced him also down into the treacherous Masurian Lakes country. The Russian general saved himself by a well-ordered, though abrupt, retreat.

By this time, the failure of Austria in Serbia and at Lemberg had caused the German High Command to think that so able a strategist as von Hindenburg had showed himself was urgently needed in that field. He was called to a higher command, therefore, and General von Morgen took his place. With the master hand no longer there, the Russians rallied and advanced into Germany anew, once more taking Lyck. But it was then too late. Germany had been given plenty of time to prepare her reserves, and on October 13 a new offensive was begun against von Rennenkampf which drove him back into Russia.

Once more the Russians invaded East Prussia, in November, but the effort did not reach far. Samsonov's defeat had been too conclusive, and when the snows of winter set in, all Russian hope of invading Germany was gone. Throughout the rest of the war, battles along this frontier were to take place on Russian, not on German soil.

On the eastern front, then, as on the western, trench deadlock had commenced. The Serbian frontier was intact, the Austrians were holding the line of the Carpathians, and the Germans had driven the Russians out of East Prussia. Winter added so greatly to the difficulties of transport that both sides waited until the spring for the resumption of hostilities upon a large scale.

XXVII

POISON GAS AT PASSCHENDAELE

THE winter of 1914–1915, remembered by all armies as the most terrible winter of the Great War — continued the Military Expert — was notable for the establishment of trench warfare. As this was a new development of war and as it became the type of action for three years, this character of field fortification needs description.

A trench is not a military position. It is either one of the defenses of such a position or a temporary artificial cover used during an attack on a position. Its value as defense lies in the fact that no permanent fortification of masonry or concrete type, no matter how powerful, can resist high-explosive shells. Trench-defenses possess little that can be destroyed. Moreover, a well-made trench affords no visible objective to enemy fire.

At the same time, a trench must never be considered as primarily a position of safety; its principal object is the providing of cover from which fire on an advancing foe may be effective. Only when made part of an elaborate system of subterranean defenses, the same being covered by permanent artillery positions, can a trench be regarded as even provisionally complete. Moreover, it is never finished, and is liable to immediate abandonment as the result either of advance or retreat.

A first-line or fire trench, as it was generally used during

the World War, was an irregular continuous line to protect individual riflemen, as narrow as possible to permit the passage of men, and deep enough for shelter from direct fire. Every sixteen to twenty feet were traverses to prevent enfilading or lengthwise fire.

In this first-line trench, and sometimes in advance of it, were sentry-positions and emplacements for machine guns. The second-line trenches were generally for shelters, dressing stations, officers' posts and the like. They were usually reached by sunken roads. Behind these came the support trenches, averaging half-a-mile behind the first-line, reached, in many cases, by tunnelled roads or deep sunken ways. All trench systems varied according to the character of the ground and the strategical object. No two were alike. Their construction was often a difficult engineering problem.

In advance of the first-line trench was No-Man's-Land, the neutral zone between the armies. This was generally deeply pitted with shell-holes or mine-craters, and these, in turn, might be used as part of the trench defenses. Also on No-Man's-Land were found the barbed wire entanglements, not to be regarded as a long wire fence, but rather as a triple (sometimes quintuple) series of fences, running at all sorts of angles, but, naturally, possessing numerous intricate paths through which they might be traversed by those who held a map to this maze. Thus the defending troops could easily make a sortie through the wire, while the attackers would become entangled therein.

Far underground, somewhere between the first-line and the support trenches, would be a deep tunnel, the headquarters of the sappers and miners. Branch galleries would run out under No-Man's-Land toward the enemy lines. From

these branch galleries would run smaller galleries or tunnels, large enough for one man to crawl along. These were called (by the British) "rabbit holes" and were used for listening posts. These listening posts were for the purpose of hearing any underground mining which might be in progress by the enemy. Whenever possible, galleries would be run under enemy trenches or dug-outs, and a mine exploded, destroying part of the opposing defense system.

The entire western front campaign of 1915, whether begun by the Germans or the Allies, consisted of attacks on trench defenses of this general character. The names and dates of the actions on this front, although some of them were battles of the first magnitude — such as Neuve Chapelle, in which 12,000 lives were lost to gain a mile advance on a three-mile front — would only be confusing to give in detail. Attackers and attacked fought like demons to gain a few yards, or to keep from losing a few yards of ground. In the very strictest sense of the word, there were no battles on the western front during the year 1915. There was a state of mutual siege.

Perhaps the most notable single engagement of this type was the French capture of one of the most strongly defended sections of the German trenches, known as "The Labyrinth." History records few such desperate encounters, much of it hand to hand, all of it under a never-ceasing rain of shell. Beginning on May 1, 1915, the French fought for 400 continuous hours, one regiment stepping in as another was annihilated or retired from exhaustion. Over 2,000 French soldiers were killed during those 400 hours, and over 10,000 were wounded and missing. It was heroic, it was magnificent, and at the end "The Labyrinth" was in French hands. But it cannot be said that the cap-

ture of that extraordinary subterranean maze had any appreciable effect on the battle-front as a whole.

The most important general offensive of the war during that year was begun by the Allies on September 25, 1915. It was three-fold in character, drives being begun in Champagne, Artois and Flanders. At a cost of 50,000 casualties the British made a two-mile penetration on a five-mile front; the French, with 60,000 casualties, gained half a mile at one point, and a narrow salient of four miles and a half at another. The main objective, Lens, remained in German hands. The net result was small.

One engagement of that year, however, deserves special attention, because it had a most pronounced effect on the whole character of trench warfare. This was an action in the Ypres-Passchendaele sector, and was the world's first introduction to poison gas.

Late in the afternoon of April 22, 1915, observers in the British trenches noticed a number of jets of white mist, like steam, rising from the German lines, between Poelcappelle and Langemarck. These fog-like vapors, evidently very heavy, settled into a cloud-bank, greenish below and yellow-brown above. It drifted slowly across No-Man's-Land. The vapors reached the Allied lines just at the point where the French line ran northwards and the Canadian southwards.

In the first-line trenches, when the cloud first struck, were French colonial troops from Africa. As the vapors reached, many were seen to fall, others whirled in agony, their throats too clutched to utter any cry. Some fled in panic. Under the light wind, the fearsome cloud ran into and filled the trenches almost like a liquid.

The German artillery and infantry were ready. The

Photos from Brown Bros.

French soldier starting out on a trench raid with grenades.

British soldier in heavy marching order.

American soldier back from trench raid, pistol he holds was captured from a German.

former shelled the support trenches, behind the cloud, sending a rain of missiles on the fleeing men; the latter, armed with gas masks, rushed and held not only the first-line, but also the second-line and support trenches.

A slight eddy of the wind drove the poison gas to the Canadian trenches. Here the men did not flee, as the black troops had done — not from cowardice but superstitious fear — but they died in their tracks. More stepped into the vapors, fired a few rounds and died. Others took their places.

It was Germany's great opportunity. She pushed forward, under the cloud of gas, and for the first and last time in the war, actually pierced the Allied line. Through the gap, the way to the sea was open. It was the moment for a swift advance. Had masses of cavalry and artillery been rushed forward that evening, had the Duke of Württemberg played a bold hand, he might have reached Calais the next day.

But German military temper is very different from French. There was no Foch to seize such an extraordinary advantage. The Teutons, all winter long, had grown accustomed to short advances (or retreats) and the consolidation of gains. Not realizing the full measure of his opportunity, the Duke of Württemberg halted his men and set them to work northward and capture more of the Allied trenches.

He met the Canadians. With a valor unsurpassed, without gas masks, the Canadians, Scotch and Irish fought like fiends. The French colonials re-formed. A couple of English regiments, at dusk, threw themselves into the fatal brew. Somehow, they managed to hold on.

At midnight the wind changed. The cloud of gas was gone. By dawn, Canadians, Scotch, Irish, English, and

Indian regiments flung themselves at the Germans from one quarter; French, Moroccans and Senegalese from another. All had friends to revenge, and never was seen such battle-fury as that day. Of one of the Indian regiments, that night, only seventy answered to their names; of another, only eleven; of the Duke's Regiment (English), only two. One Senegalese regiment fought till not a single man was left alive. The Germans themselves were afraid of the blood-lust they had aroused. The battle continued for three days. When night fell on April 26, the gap in the lines was mended.

Again and again, after that, when the wind served, the Germans tried the same tactics, but, though they slew hundreds of men by slow torture, they never got through again. Within ten days' time, the Allies were supplied with gas masks, and, later in the year, the British and French were compelled to adopt the same tactics themselves. Chlorine gas, tear gas, mustard gas, sneeze gas and other asphyxiating or respiratory irritant forms of poison became a part of the paraphernalia of war.

It was Germany's one chance and she lost it. That she failed was largely due to the fact that, at the beginning, poison gas had not been developed for use in individual reservoirs, carried by the soldiers. It was used in big tanks and depended on the vagaries of the wind. Had asphyxiating gas been fully perfected when it was used on that first day, the war would have been over. Wearing masks, the Germans could have advanced without a shot and captured every trench, every dug-out, every artillery position and every fort. Without masks, no soldier could have fought in reply, and no horse could have lived to move the guns.

Germany "had sold her soul to the devil" as a famous British author wrote, "but the devil's price was very small." She earned thereby an added measure of the world's hate, and gained nothing thereby. Evil has a knack of returning on the user's head, and bitterly did the Hun learn that lesson in the years of war to come.

"Do you think," asked the War Correspondent, "that Germany was justified in her use of poison gas?"

"Emphatically, no," the Military Expert declared. "The Articles of the Hague convention prevented it, also those of the Geneva convention. But, from the German point of view, which holds that any means is justified which will achieve results, the use of poison gas was a good example of the horrible extremes to which the Gospel of Force drove its devotees.

"The controversy over the use of poison gas rests upon the antagonism of two theories, one that War is a legitimized condition, capable of being regulated by international agreements, which is the point of view of the Allies; the other, that war is a non-legitimized condition, beyond the scope of such agreements and only subject to its own imperative needs, which is the viewpoint of the Germans."

"And your own idea?" queried the War Correspondent.

The Military Expert shrugged his shoulders with the characteristic gesture of his countrymen.

"I am a military man," he answered, "but I am also a civilized human being. I feel that War — if there must be such — should always be waged under international safeguards which permit the greatest freedom of military action with the smallest amount of human suffering and loss of

life. At the same time, War will always be War, and I fear that its own terrible urgencies will always bring about the neglect of humanitarian safeguards by unscrupulous peoples."

XXVIII

ITALY ENTERS THE WAR

"I UNDERSTAND," began the Diplomat, bowing to Chief of Staff as he spoke, "that you wish me to set out the actual reasons which caused Italy to enter the war, especially explaining why she, who was an ally of Germany when the war broke out in 1914, had become an ally of France and England by the spring of 1915. Although myself a Serbian, and opposed to Italy in her territorial policy, I will endeavor to present the matter impartially."

The Holy Alliance, of Russia, Austria and Prussia — he began — was signed in 1815 at the instance of the Czar of Russia. In 1866, this was confirmed as the League of the Three Emperors. It had no binding force, being of the nature of a "gentleman's agreement." It had never appealed with any great force to Bismarck, for the interests of Austria and Russia were so antagonistic that Germany could not continuously support both. The Franco-Prussian war strengthened Germany's ties with Austria, but the military success of Prussia caused jealousy and fear in the heart of the Czar.

The speedy recovery of France from her defeat was a sad blow to Bismarck, and he was in process of twisting diplomatic strings towards a second and yet more drastic attack on France in 1875, when Queen Victoria of England bluntly

warned the German court against such a proceeding. This gave Russia the opportunity to give Germany a slap in the face by the bland announcement that "peace was now assured." Without any positive action — for the League of the Three Emperors was but a loose affair — the agreement changed into the Dual Alliance of Austria and Germany, which latter was made rigorous.

Shortly after, the question of Tunis arose. For some time Italy had been covetous of Tunis, the African coast-line territory nearest to her own possessions. At the same time, France desired Tunis, planning to add it to her colony of Algiers. Germany supported France in this claim, hoping that such support would help to heal the sore that had been left by the capture of Alsace-Lorraine; England also upheld France, because the shores of Sicily and Tunis were close together and she did not wish that any one Power should dominate the Mediterranean at one of its narrowest points. In 1881, on an alleged excuse of a punitive expedition, France seized Tunis and forced the Bey to accept a protectorate.

There had been bad blood between Italy and France for many years. During the Nationalistic wars, when Italy was struggling for independence, France had been a supporter of the enemy. But, while Italy did not love France, she hated Austria more, and the Franco-Italian friendly feeling was beginning to return when the Tunis matter arose. There was but one thing for Italy to do in order to show her resentment of France's seizure of the desired coast, and that was to accept the hand of friendship long held out by the Dual Alliance. In 1882 Italy joined France's enemies and the Triple Alliance was born.

Normally, however, France and Italy are more akin, and

the amicable feelings commenced to return. These were aided when, in 1901, France endorsed Italy's claim to a sphere of influence in Tripoli, which, after ten years of peaceful penetration, Italy seized in 1911. Another cause of added friendliness was the separation of Church and State in France in 1905, an evidence to Italy that no longer would France uphold the papal claims.

It is easy to see why Italy and Great Britain were friends. True, Great Britain had opposed Italy's desires in regard to Tunis, but she had supported them in the Tripoli matter. The real cause of friendship, however, was that England had been an uncompromising ally of the nationalistic movement in Italy and had consistently opposed the Papal States. Italy never forgot that she would never have been a United Italy but for the moral support of the democratic spirit of England, one of the most rigorously Protestant and democratic countries of the world. Moreover, Great Britain frankly and openly favored and financially aided the industrial and commercial advancement of Italy. The Italian Navy reciprocated by assisting to maintain the freedom of the seas in the Mediterranean.

It is next well to remember that Italy and Austria were natural enemies. This was due mainly to the occupation by Austria of the Italic-populated territories of "Italia Irredenta," and the hatred between the two countries was of long standing. Italy would never have joined the Triple Alliance, but for pique over the question of Tunis.

The animosity between Italy and Germany grew out from the Balkan Wars. Prior to that time — owing to the diplomacy of Chancellor von Bülow, who had married an Italian wife of a family of immense political influence — there had been friendship between Rome and Berlin. But Italy and

Turkey were constant and bitter foes, and when the Kaiser and the Sultan entered into a semi-secret agreement, Italy had no other recourse than to consider Germany a potential enemy.

As the Triple Alliance was defensive only, Italy took the ground, in 1914, that the Central Powers were the aggressors and this relieved her from the necessity of joining her former allies. Her neutrality was condoned, but when Italy joined the Allies, Germany and Austria loudly proclaimed her action as treachery. Technically, it was not; in a larger sense, it was something very close to it. It is at least certain that Italy's break with Austria was over the question of the disputed territories.

When, by the spring of 1915, it became evident that Germany had not won the war, and, equally, that it was going to take the Allies a long time to win, Italy saw the strength of her position. She commenced to bargain with both sides as to which would give her the largest amount of plunder for her support. Her desires were territorial. She sought "Italia Irredenta," or the three so-called unredeemed provinces of Italy.

These three areas are: Trentino, the southern half of the mountainous country embraced in that great spur of the Alps which projects like a wedge into northern Italy; Kustenland, a peninsula jutting out into the Adriatic just east of the Italian frontier; and Dalmatia, the northern half of the eastern coast-line of the Adriatic Sea.

To all territorial claims, four reasons may be advanced: that of historic unity, that of geographical entity, that of population, and that of culture and language. For "Italia Irredenta" as a whole, Italy's historic claim was weak, her geographical claim strong. So far as population was con-

cerned, the Trentino was half Italian and half Austrian; Kustenland was one-third Italian, one-third Austrian and one-third Jugoslav; Dalmatia was one-fourth Italian and three-fourths Jugoslav. So far as culture and language were concerned, Italy had strong rights in the Trentino, moderately strong claims in Kustenland, but her Dalmatian rights — except for the islands and shore-villages — were small.

Italy's territorial rivals were Austria and Serbia. But Austria and Serbia were on opposite sides in the war! Italy was anti-Serbian and anti-Austrian. She was on both sides of the fence. She could, therefore, dicker with profit on either side. Part of Italy was pro-Ally, part pro-German, part neutral. Civil war was on the point of breaking out. At this point, by the Pact of London,[1] France and England promised secretly to give Italy all that she asked. Germany did the same, but Italy doubted the value of a German promise.

The deciding issue was naval. Italy was ambitious to be a sea-power, to control the Mediterranean. The failure of the German fleet caused Italy to see that her long sea-coast would be at the mercy of France and England if she sided with Germany. She accepted the terms of the Allies and entered the war against the Central Powers.

Her campaigns, naturally, are matters with which a military expert must deal, but it should be said, in explanation of many of the curious events which occurred on the Isonzo and on the Piave, that, throughout the war, and, indeed, after the signing of the final armistice, there was a strong anti-Ally party in Italy. It should also be said that Italy

[1] The most important of the secret treaties which created the long deadlock in the Peace Conference at Paris 1918–1919.

possessed some of the strongest socialistic and anarchistic groups in Europe.

The work of the Italian government in holding Italian thought and feeling true to the Allies during the four years of the war was masterly. Yet it must not be forgotten, from first to last, that while France entered the war purely for defence; while Russia entered the war to protect a smaller kinsman nation; while England entered the war, partly for commercial reasons and partly because of the ruthless violation of Belgian neutrality; Italy entered the war for what she could gain by it.

Considered in the light of diplomacy, the influence of Italy was enormous. It had the effect of stamping the Allies' side of the conflict with the approval of a nation which had stood back to give judgment. It helped, enormously, to make complete the German-Austrian blockade. It released France from the fear of invasion on her southeastern border.

"Undoubtedly," continued the Diplomat, breaking into a personal vein, "Italy had the right to demand from the Allies a recompense for her assistance, since she joined the war as a mercenary. Speaking, however, as a Serbian, I cannot admit that the Allies had a right, by the Pact of London, to grant her territory which at the same time had been tacitly awarded to an ally. To despoil an enemy may be the right of a conqueror, but not to rob a comrade. Therein lay the ferment of discontent that buzzed between the Jugoslavs and Italy throughout the war and which broke out after the signing of the armistice. The Pact of London hung like a sinister shadow over the final peace-issues of the World War."

XXIX

WAR ALONG SPIDERS' WEBS

THE opening of the war between Italy and Austria — declared the Military Expert — could not lend itself to any decisive battles, such as those of the Battle of the Marne and the Battle of Tannenberg, and this for geographical reasons. Modern armies are too huge to be maneuvered except upon a plain, such as the valleys of the Marne and Ourcq or the swamps of the Masurian Lakes.

The frontier between Austria and Italy runs through the ruggedest and most inaccessible mountains of the Alps, respectively the Rhaetian Alps, the Dolomites, the Carnic Alps, the Julian Alps and thence, to Fiume, across the Isonzo River. The outbreak of war between Austria and Italy compulsorily confined itself to a control of the passes and to the holding of the Isonzo River.

On April 25, 1915, Italy made its agreement with the Allies; on May 3, the Italian government denounced the Triple Alliance; on May 9, the Syndicalists (an anarchistic-socialist group) threatened anarchy if war were proclaimed; on May 13 the Italian government, under Premier Salandra, resigned in order to force the issue; on May 15 the pro-German group threatened civil war; on May 16 the King asked Salandra to resume office, thus officially declaring himself in favor of the Allies; on May 17 Giolitti, the leader of the pro-Germans, fled from Rome; on May 23 Italy formally

declared war against Austria, to take effect the next day; and on May 25 five Italian armies attacked the Austrian frontier at five different points.

These five attacks may be briefly described. Commencing from the Adriatic side, one army seized the railway to Monfalcone, and operating under great difficulties, succeeded in capturing that important railway point on June 10. As Monfalcone is the seat of the electrical and water-works which control the great Austrian port of Trieste, this was a victory of great strategic value.

FIG. 24. ITALIAN INVASION OF AUSTRIA

The main movements were two-fold, one against Trent in the Trentino; the other against Trieste through Goritzia. Udine was made the main military headquarters. Trieste and Trent were not taken until the last day of the war.

A second army, invading Austria via Udine and Cormons, seized the railroad there and, by June 4, had mounted artillery on the heights commanding the fortified city of Goritzia

A third army, striking up the Carnic Alps, met an Austrian army coming down. There was some bitter fighting in this sector, especially the Battle of Tolmina on June 7, 1915, but, a week later, the stronger positions had passed into the hands of the Italians.

A fourth army, scaling almost inaccessible summits, and operating largely with aerial tramways, which, like vast spiders' webs, they stretched from mountain peak to mountain peak, swept the Austrians from the lofty height of Monte Croce and established themselves there like eagles in an eyrie.

A fifth army, operating in the Trentino, moved forward more slowly, consolidating its gains as it went, anticipating Austrian attack. There was none and the army continued without a halt until June 17, when it found itself confronted by an elaborate system of intrenched defenses, of the most modern pattern, between Rovereto and Mori.

During the last week of this advance, the eastern armies, operating in the Isonzo, had also come to the Austrian line of defenses and there had deadlocked. By the end of June, 1915, therefore, the same conditions of mutual siege had been established that pertained on the western front. Moreover, just as battles in Flanders and Champagne became desperate tussles for a hundred yards of trench here or a low hill there, so, on the Italian-Austrian frontier, they became tussles for a mountain peak or a strategic eminence of rock.

Some differences there were. There was less poison gas than on the western front, and, owing to the character of the ground, less underground sapping and mining. On the other hand, the ingenuity of the engineers was expended in the most amazing feats of aerial transmission, by which huge siege guns were swung on cables thousands of feet in

the air, and the daily food of the monsters traveled upwards like some monstrous overhead cash system in a department store.

July witnessed the capture of no less than thirty Austrian outpost positions, each of them gained by the most amazing personal endeavor and with heavy loss of life. By August 1, the Italians were well intrenched east of the Isonzo River but the main defenses of Goritzia and Trieste were still intact.

The same month, also, witnessed two extraordinary feats of daring, one Italian, the other Austrian. In the former case, 29 men, all trained Alpine climbers and most of them guides, climbed 1000 feet of sheer precipice on Zellenkoffel Peak, during a moonless night, and soundlessly dragged a machine gun with them. When dawn came, they blew every Austrian off the peak.

The other incident was that of a Tyrolean company of 100 men, which cut a tunnel through the ice of the Monte Adamelle glacier, without a hint of their effort reaching the Italians. Then, at the crucial moment, the hundred men rushed out and defeated more than three times their number, seizing the important Tonale Pass.

On this battle-front, personal prowess counted for much, and there was little to choose in valor between the Italian and the Austrian mountaineers. The artillerists and engineers of the opposing forces also achieved the apparently impossible in the handling of heavy guns.

When the winter of 1915–1916 closed down, it became clear that Italy could not force the Austrian passes. Even if the famous Adige Pass were taken, at a staggering cost of human life, the impregnable Brenner Pass would lie behind. Only on the Isonzo could either side advance. The key to

the Isonzo was Goritzia, which, when winter came, was still firmly in Austrian hands. Italy had deadlocked Austria, and the Allies were strengthened enormously.

"I don't see that it made so much difference," said the War Correspondent. "Italy's joining of the war was her own affair. It had very little relation outside her own territory."

"It kept nearly a million Austrians from aiding the Germans on the western front," was the retort; "it prevented Spain from joining the Central Powers — which might have cost England Gibraltar and would have tied up the Mediterranean, besides threatening France's southern frontier — it saved the naval question from becoming acute. It may be going a little too far to say that if Italy had joined the Central Powers, the Allies must inevitably have lost the war, but it is not going too far to say that the help of Italy was an even stronger factor in the World War than the aid of the United States. The Italians fought like heroes, and, like heroes, they whipped Austria at the last."

XXX

THE TREACHERY OF CZARDOM

THE year 1915, on the western front, had failed to achieve any notable results on the battle-line; on the Italian front, it established the Italian-Austrian deadlock on the Alpine frontier and across the Isonzo; but on the Russian front there were some notable changes.

It will be remembered — said the Military Expert — that the Russians had dug in, towards the north, after the disastrous Battle of Tannenberg; that they had dug in, toward the south, after capturing Lemberg and establishing the siege of Przemysl.

The Russian battle-line was 900 miles long, the longest battle-line in the history of the world. Minor actions were continuous and it must suffice only to depict the large movements and to show the internal causes which enabled decisive changes to be made.

The first important factor of 1915 was the surrender of Przemysl on March 22, after a siege of nearly seven months. Its surrender was due as much to wastefulness of food and munitions on the part of the Austrians as it was to the close investment of the city by the Russians. It gave to Russia the most important fortress in Galicia. The Czar's troops crossed the River Pruth the next day, and by April 10 won seventy miles of the Carpathian Mountain heights.

Realizing the danger of allowing the Russians to advance further, Germany took the direction of the campaign out of

the hands of the Austrians and placed General von Mackensen in supreme command. That able strategist saw and seized his opportunity. He remained apparently passive until 2,250,000 men were under his command, gathering the main army near the Donajetz River, and meantime, feinting the Russians with small, but apparently mass frontal attacks.

Then, on April 28, von Mackensen struck on the Russian southern flank. On May 1 he drove to the north and crossed the Biala River. By May 2 the Russian army was in retreat, and the Wisklowa River was forced on May 7. By May 14 the Russians had been driven across the San, and Jaroslav again saw two huge armies in conflict. In two weeks' fighting, the whole Russian front had been pressed back from fifty to eighty miles, the entire transport system was demoralized and the total Russian casualties were estimated at 350,000, inclusive of prisoners.

At this point the Grand Duke Nicholas took the Russian supreme command, but too late to check the onward German sweep. Von Mackensen drove hard between Jaroslav and Przemysl, taking Jaroslav on May 15 and Przemysl on June 2. On June 7 the Dniester, which Brussilov had fortified so strongly, was crossed in the teeth of the big guns, and though the Russians rallied here and inflicted a sharp defeat on an advance German army, von Mackensen still drove forward. Mosciska was captured on June 14, Javorov on June 20, and, finally, Lemberg returned into the hands of the Central Powers on June 22. Thus, in less than two months, von Mackensen took back all that the Russians had gained during the year before. (See Fig. 22.)

With Galicia or Austrian Poland once more restored to the Austrian flag, von Mackensen set himself to the capture

of Russian Poland. While he gathered his main army for another drive, Halicz, the advance key to Lemberg, was surrounded and taken. By the middle of July von Mackensen was ready. The town of Przasnyaz, north of Warsaw, which had changed hands four times during the winter before, was the first-fruits of this second drive, being captured by the German-Austrian armies on July 14, this northern wing then taking the strong Russian position at Blouwe, and crossing the Narew River on July 23, thus halting in front of the strongest Russian fortress on the eastern front, the fortress of Novo Georgievsk.

The main part of the army captured Krasnostav on July 18, won the important bridge-head of Nova Alexandrievsk across the Vistula River on July 22, on July 29 the railway was cut between Lublin and Chulm, both towns falling victims next day. Finally, the lines behind Blouwe and the fortress of Ivangorod both fell on August 4 and the Germans entered Warsaw August 5, 1915.

This left six important fortresses on various points of the long Russian front. These were Novo Georgievsk, Kovno, Grodno, Ossowietz, Brest-Litovsk and Olita. Kovno fell on August 17, yielding 20,000 prisoners and 200 guns, after a heroic resistance against force of seven times their number. The great siege guns reduced Novo Georgievsk in three weeks (a notable commentary to the strength of the fortress, for Namur held out only an hour and Maubeuge three days) and the Germans took 700 guns there. Ossowietz fell on August 23, and Brest-Litovsk two days later. With the fall of Bialostok, on the 26th, and Olita on the 27th, all the railways out of Russian Poland fell into German hands. On September 2 Grodno, against which the siege guns had been moved after the fall of Novo Geor-

gievsk, submitted to the crushing fire of the heavy howitzers. (See Fig. 23.)

This left only one point of importance in the whole of Poland still in Russian hands. This was Vilna. On September 5 the Grand Duke Nicholas was demoted from the position of commander-in-chief, the Czar himself taking his place, and the Grand Duke was sent to take charge of the campaign in the Caucasus. The Czar's leadership, for deliberate reasons, was worse than that of the Grand Duke, and Pinsk — beyond the borders of Poland and in Russia proper — fell on September 16, while Vilna, a point of the highest strategic importance, was captured by von Mackensen on September 18, 1915.

There the Germans halted, not because of the strength of the Russian line, but because the approach of winter would render any campaign through the marshy north country of Russia costly and difficult. Even so, adequately to defend this line would have taken from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 German and Austrian troops, thus relieving the pressure against the Allies on the western line. Not more than half that number was employed, the Germans being well aware that, by this time, the Russian power had ceased to be a menace.

One does not have to be a close student of military affairs to realize that such a series of successes as those of von Mackensen could not be due to strategy alone. The Russians were hard and stubborn fighters, but every modern army depends upon two things, food and shells.

The explanation of the great failure of Russia in 1915 lay in the fact that the Imperial ring at Petrograd, pro-German to the core, consistently and persistently held back provisions and munitions for the army. Whenever Germany planned

a great offensive against a certain sector, supplies ceased to reach the Russian troops in that sector; whenever the Russians prepared for a drive, the Germans were informed in advance where it would take place and in what strength.

The principal leak lay in the private apartments of the Czarina. She was a German princess, and, as afterwards was stated, she had a private telegraph wire from the palace in Petrograd to Berlin.

It was also proved that a wireless plant at the palace of Tsarsko-Selo had continually functioned with Nauen. Moreover, the court was almost entirely pro-German, the prime minister was pro-German, and the nobles of western Russia — many of whom were officers in high command — were pro-German to the core. From the first to the last day of the war, the Russian people were consistently betrayed by their leaders.

The Czar's part in the plotting was complex. Of German ancestry (both the Holsteins and the Romanoffs were originally German), married to Princess Alix of Hesse, and insecure on his throne by reason of a pro-Slav revolutionary party, the sympathies of Nicholas II, "Autocrat of all the Russias," were naturally with the autocratic Kaiser. Yet, if he openly showed himself anti-Russian and on the side of Germany, he knew that he would instantly be deposed and probably would lose his head. Both of these events happened, in any case.

Like a weak man, he tried to play a double part. On the one hand, he made pro-Slav speeches; on the other, he placed pro-German officials at the head of all railroads and munition factories. He urged his troops to advance; and, at the same time, gave orders that munitions should be deflected from the sectors where they were most needed.

When the Zemstvos (the popular, democratic league of towns and villages) came to the rescue of the army and undertook the transport of supplies, the Czar pompously declared that two systems of transport impaired efficiency, and stopped the one which was doing the work. Every effort at secrecy was made, but the country grew so wild under its consciousness of betrayal that Grand Duke Nicholas, who was a pro-Russian, in August, 1915, not only warned the Czar that he was tempting deposition, but that, unless he ceased to play into the hands of Germany, he would dethrone the Czar himself.

The pro-German organization, however, was too powerful for Grand Duke Nicholas to oppose. He could not force the dethronement of the Czar without troops, and it was obvious that to employ the army for this purpose would bring to a head the popular revolution which in 1881, 1889 and 1905 had almost cost the Czar his throne and which underlay the whole social structure of life in Russia.

Grand Duke Nicholas did not dare to go so far, for the second reason, that he saw clearly that the withdrawal of the troops to dethrone the Czar would give Germany an opportunity for further invasion. He was astute enough also to see that a revolution once started in Russia might be seized upon by the extremists and thereby might proceed to anarchy.

The Czar promptly deposed the Grand Duke from the supreme command and sent him to the Caucasus, taking charge of the armies, himself, in his own imperial right. The effect of this was apparent at once. Brussilov was censured, because of his military successes, pro-Slav officers were either killed or degraded in rank, while those who had successfully led their men into German death-traps were

promoted. The Germans were delighted and released half-a-dozen divisions for use on the western front, within one week of the Czar's assumption of military authority.

The real Russians wept with rage, but their hands were tied. The military clique was pro-German and courted defeat; the imperial clique was pro-German and sought anti-Slav diplomacy. Under the guise of unifying the Russian people, every democratic movement was suppressed. Prohibition, or the closing of the vodka-shops, though announced to the world as a work of freedom, was prompted by the sinister purpose of preventing the gatherings of peasants and hence the right of free speech. The dark deeds that followed in Russia were not the expression of inherent Slav violence, but were the direct outcome of the policies of treachery dictated to Petrograd by Berlin.

"I am heartily in agreement with all that you have said of Russia," said the Diplomat, emphatically, "especially in regard to the pro-Germanism of the Russian court. It was that same imperial dislike of the Slav which caused Russia, twice before, to fail Serbia in her hour of need, and which allowed the crime of Bosnia. It was the same anti-Slavism which prevented the development of education in Russia and which provided that the lower orders of the Church should remain ignorant. It was the same anti-Slavism which, in every diplomatic council of the nineteenth century, betrayed the interests of the Slavs.

"It was the same spirit which gave German kings and queens to the Balkan States of Roumania and Bulgaria, even Greece being ruled by a monarch of Teuton origin. And these rulers, in their turn, betrayed their countries to

pro-Germanism. Of all the thrones of Europe, there were but three which were not German: Italy, Serbia and Montenegro."

"Are you so sure of that?" queried the Economist. "Would you consider the English throne a German appanage?"

"The King of England was of the House of Hanover, his mother was of the branch of the Schleswig-Holsteins, reigning in Denmark, and the Queen was a daughter of the Duke of Teck," was the reply. "And moreover, so keenly did the British royal family feel this that, by Act of Parliament, during the war they changed their title from 'House of Hanover' to 'House of Windsor.' An Act of Parliament does not change German blood, however. In Austria, the Hapsburgs were German; in Belgium, the King was from Saxe-Coburg and the Queen from Bavaria; in Denmark, a Schleswig-Holstein king married a princess of Mecklenburg; in Germany, the Kaiser had also married a Mecklenburg princess; in Holland, both king and queen were German; in Norway, the king was of Schleswig-Holstein and the queen of the English branch of the House of Hanover; the Queen of Sweden was a German princess of Baden; the King of Spain was Austrian and had married an Anglo-German princess.

"In all considerations of European diplomacy this German royal marriage octopus must be considered. The peoples of Europe were not governed by monarchs of their own choosing, but by rulers which had been forced upon them by the ingenious German system of maintaining, as royal marriageable princesses, the daughters of the so-called reigning families of the German states. The girls were a diplomatic

asset, and Germany used them to the full. The war has brought out the great need of nations for self-determination, and, if they be monarchies, for rulers of one blood and purpose with their people."

XXXI

THE BLOTTING OUT OF SERBIA

A DEADLIER foe than either Russia or Austria invaded Serbia during the early summer of 1915 — continued the Military Expert. This was typhus fever. In places, half the population was wiped out. The whole land was weakened. Scarcely less deadly was pro-German propaganda. Germany offered a handsome bribe to Serbia to withdraw from the war, but Serbia refused. Germany then offered a bribe of territory to Bulgaria to enter the war secretly against Serbia, and Bulgaria accepted. This secret agreement was concluded in August, 1915.

It will be remembered that, in the first few days of September, the Grand Duke Nicholas had been demoted from his position as commander-in-chief of the Russian armies and that the Czar had taken his place. This had made matters easy for Germany. No longer fearing any genuine Russian offensive, since their tool, the Czar, was nominally in command, General von Mackensen was detached from the eastern front and sent to direct the conquest of Serbia.

As in his great drive in Galicia, so, again, von Mackensen waited until he gathered his armies. This time, he did not need as great numbers for the northern invasion, for he knew that, in mountain country, masses of men are difficult to move. He gathered two armies, each of 150,000 men, all picked veterans, posting one on the River Save, the other on the Danube. But he had also gathered a most extraor-

FIG. 25. AUSTRO-GERMAN-BULGARIAN INVASION OF SERBIA

Note how the cutting of the railroad by the Bulgarians cut off the Line of Communication for the Serbian armies. The cross near Prilep marks the Babuna Pass, where the Serbs made their last heroic stand. Arrows mark the six invading armies.

dinary number of light guns and an enormous concentration of shells.

Serbia, too, had 300,000 men. Moreover, in the ten months which had elapsed since she sent the Austrians, for the third time, fleeing helter-skelter back into their own country, Serbia had constructed formidable defenses. Her army was well trained, and stores of provisions had been secured. Munitions, however, were scarcer than they should have been, for the Allies could spare little and America was chary of selling munitions — except for cash — to a country which might be wiped out and unable to pay its bills. Aside from this, the two armies were fairly equally matched. Germany had the advantage in artillery, Serbia had the advantage in defense.

The long-range German bombardment of Belgrade commenced on October 5, 1915. In ten minutes the city was on fire. Within an hour, it was ablaze in a dozen places. On October 6 the Germans entered Belgrade, but it was not all occupied until October 9. In the next three days, almost the whole of the two invading armies crossed.

Then, without warning, without declaration of war, on October 13 Bulgaria stabbed Serbia in the back. Caught between two fires, the Serbians struggled hard, but on October 17 and October 20, the Bulgars cut the railroad — which was Serbia's only main railroad — at two points. The way to Saloniki and the sea was closed.

It was in vain to try and keep the Germans back any longer. Fighting hard and retreating in a semicircle, the Serbians made their way back to Babuna Pass, the defence of which ranks with the famous Pass of Thermopylae in Greek history. Bravery became useless. Von Mackensen would not sacrifice his men. But he advanced his guns, foot by foot, leveling trenches and making rocky strongholds untenable.

French troops, under General Sarrail, the defender of Verdun at the Battle of the Marne, strove hard to overcome a Bulgarian Army which stood between them and the heroic Serbs defending Babuna Pass. The British were not there. Though the French were but a handful, they fought indomitably until only ten miles from Babuna Pass, whence they could hear the rumbling gun-fire of von Mackensen's artillery.

On November 2 the Bulgars, aided by German artillery, opened an attack on Nish, the Serbian capital since the beginning of the war. The Serbians fought stubbornly, for every hour they expected that the French and British would arrive to their support. The French were trying their best. The British were not there. On November 5 Nish fell, and with it Serbia. Only the little group of heroes fought on, a forlorn hope, in Babuna Pass.

Then came a day, November 20, on which the rifles spoke no more in Babuna Pass and by Prilep. The last Serbian soldier left Serbian land, not to return until the last year of the war. The steel-shod heel of Germany lay heavy over the land. The road to Constantinople was open. German guns could be rushed to Turkey. Asia Minor awaited conquest and plundering. It was the heaviest blow dealt to the Allies since the beginning of the war.

"You speak somewhat bitterly," remarked the Chief of Staff, "that 'the British were not there.' Do I understand you to mean that England failed in regard to Serbia?"

"I feel," answered the Military Expert, "that she not only failed utterly, but failed horribly. France, though ten times more in need of men than England, tried hard to help her little ally. England did just exactly nothing. She

American Infantry advancing behind barrage fire.

British Lancers advancing on Flanders road.

Photos from Brown Bros.

Australian Camel Corps advancing in Palestine.

INFANTRY, CAVALRY AND CAMELRY CHARGES.

wasted men at Gallipoli and wasted time at Saloniki. It was gross mismanagement, even if there were not some diplomatic motive behind.

"The loss of Serbia, however, did have one good effect. It convinced the Allies that disunited command between the armies of the various nations could no longer be endured. There must be one single head. Marshal Sir John French, commander-in-chief of the British armies, resigned, and the supreme command was placed in the hands of France. Had it been there before, Serbia would never have been lost to the Allies."

XXXII

FAILURE OF "THE HOLY WAR"

THE problems of Turkey-in-Europe and the Balkan States, and of Turkey-in-Asia, Persia and Arabia, the whole known as the "Near East"— asserted the Diplomat — have always been regarded as matters for diplomacy rather than for military decision. Later, the German-Turkish armies created conditions that required long and difficult campaigns, but, at first, Turkey's entrance into the war was a question of the Balance of Power.

The visits of the Kaiser to the Sultan of Turkey, in 1889 and 1898, and the continuing closeness of the cordial relations, had led to German approval of the Turkish massacres of Armenians, in return for which support, the Berlin-to-Bagdad and other railroad concessions had been given to Germany. The German Ambassador to Turkey, Baron von Wangenheim, had been mentioned as German Chancellor, his appointment depending largely on the adroitness with which he managed Germany's interests in the Near East.[1]

At the very opening of the war, von Wangenheim achieved a diplomatic triumph. This was the passage of the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* through the Dar-

[1] Baron von Wangenheim died in Constantinople, Oct., 1915, a few days after officially informing the American Ambassador that the German Government would do nothing to try and stop the massacres in Armenia.

danelles. The *Goeben* was a modern battle-cruiser, the *Breslau* a modern light cruiser. Both were vessels of good speed. On the day of the outbreak of war, these two ships were taking supplies at Messina, Sicily. They dodged the Allied Mediterranean fleets and steamed at full speed for Constantinople. Turkey, at that time, was neutral. Under the terms of international law, it was an unfriendly act for vessels of warring nations to remain in a neutral port more than twenty-four hours. Yet von Wangenheim sent a wireless message ordering these vessels to Constantinople.

The whole affair was adroitly managed. Turkey had secured funds, by popular subscription, for two new warships. These were being built in England. When the war broke out, England, as she had a right to do, commandeered these vessels. Von Wangenheim seized the opportunity, convinced the Turkish people that England had done this in a hostile vein, and offered to sell — for a nominal price — the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*. The proposal caused delirious excitement and approval.

Instructions were wirelessed to the two vessels that a sale had been made. On their approach to the Dardanelles they hoisted the Turkish flag — giving them a right to enter — and the *Goeben* and the *Breslau,* now christened the *Sultan Selim* and the *Medilli,* anchored off Constantinople. Since they were no longer German vessels, the Allies could not compel their departure.

On September 27, Turkey, acting under German orders, closed the Dardanelles. This bottled up Russia. It led to the Declaration of War. On October 29 Turkish vessels attacked a Russian fleet, and war was declared the same day. The Allies retaliated by a declaration of war November 5, 1914.

It is important to note that Germany did not wish Turkey's military assistance at the opening of the war, although, since May, three months before the outbreak of the conflict, Marshal von Sanders had been preparing the Turkish army for mobilization. Why this delay? For the cause that it was Germany's interest to keep Turkey neutral.

This was for three reasons: in the first place, a German victory without Turkey's aid would be much more striking in the matter of prestige; in the second place, Germany was anxious to keep Turkey as a humble petitioner, and to rob her of her territory, strip by strip, whereas, if Turkey mobilized, Germany would be compelled to aid Turkey in the re-acquisition of territory, as recompense; in the third place, she wanted cotton, tobacco and wheat from Turkey, and a country at peace is more easily exploited commercially than a country at war.

Four things caused a change of Germany's attitude. The first was the Battle of the Marne, which revealed to Turkey that the German plan of a swift defeat of France had been checkmated; the second was the effectual blockade of Germany and the sweeping of every German vessel from the high seas, revealing that, navally, Germany was defeated; the third was Russia's success in Galicia, including the capture of Lemberg; the fourth was the utter and absolute failure of Austria in her thrice-repeated invasion of Serbia. Germany and Austria could no longer pretend to Turkey that they held Europe in their military domination.

Now, Germany had affirmed to Turkey that Egypt and India were ready and eager for an uprising and the Kaiser had been grievously disappointed when all these expected revolts against British rule had failed to materialize. Believing that a spirit of fanaticism would be the best fuel to

that flame of revolt, he urged the Sultan to issue an edict for a Jehad or "Holy War." The proclamation was made on November 13, 1914, but it fell absolutely flat.

There were several reasons for this. The first was that the Mohammedan Church is divided into two great parties, one of which believes that the Sultan of Turkey is a religious usurper. To this party the bulk of the Mohammedans in Egypt and in India belonged. The proclamation of a "Holy War," therefore, instead of evoking fanatical obedience, provoked discussion. Another factor was that the Mohammedans — who are to the full as shrewd as Christian peoples — found no difficulty in discerning the hand of the Kaiser behind that of the Sultan, and a Mohammedan Holy War dictated from Protestant Christian Berlin struck them as an absurdity. A third was that England's administration of Mohammedan countries had always been a marvel of consideration, respect and fair treatment.

There did result, however, three attacks on the Suez Canal. The first, on October 29, 1914, was only a feint, intended as a feeler in case the Egyptians should prove ready to rise against the English. It had, none the less, a second and a successful aim — that of compelling England to keep a large number of troops in Egypt, thus weakening possible re-enforcements on the western front. This was of less effect than expected because no one, not even Great Britain herself, expected even as much as one-third of the amazing support she received from Australia and New Zealand.

Then, under Djemal Pasha, for three long months after the declaration of the Holy War, Turkish troops prepared for an advance in force over the terrible deserts between Palestine and Suez. These preparations culminated in the great attack of February 1, 1915. The failure was almost

pathetic in its inefficiency. The British lost 115 in killed and wounded, the Turks, over 3,000. As many more died or were incapacitated in retreat over the burning sands they had already crossed. (See Fig. 33.)

A third attempt was made, on August 4, 1915, with only a division of men (about 40,000). Again the German-Turkish troops were defeated, this time with a loss of 9,000 men. These three reconnaissances in force — they could hardly be regarded as great military attacks — showed conclusively that Suez was impregnable from the land. No army of sufficient size to storm that strongly defended canal could transport water for itself across those inhospitable and scorching wastes, and, even if it should succeed in doing so, Suez could not be taken at a blow. The sweet-water canal is to the west of the Ship Canal. On December 17, 1915, the Khedivial form of government in Egypt was abolished and Egypt was declared to be a British protectorate.

Among Oriental peoples, prestige is of the first importance. The effect of this triple failure at Suez had one important effect — it convinced the Arabs of England's strength. This, in turn, led to British alliance with the Arab tribes to the east of the River Jordan, a valuable aid in the conquest of Palestine; and the alliance of the Arab tribes in Lower Mesopotamia, which was of imperative importance to England in her conquest of the territories on either side of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. This prestige happened fortunately, for the time was at hand when it would be seriously damaged by England's spectacular failure at the Dardanelles.

The essential point was that German diplomacy had failed to awaken the Mohammedan spirit against England, although it did have the unhappy effect of rendering Moslem

hatred against the Christians even more acute. The revival of the atrocious massacres of Armenian Christians, later in the course of the world conflict, was directly traceable to the Kaiser's effort to provoke a Holy War.

"Do you consider," the War Correspondent asked the Diplomat, "that England had the right to establish a protectorate over Egypt?"

"That is a highly confused issue," the Diplomat replied. "By treaty, England had agreed to help Turkey to keep the Turkish province of Egypt true to its Turkish master. Turkey had practically, though not actually, broken that treaty by her declaration of war. It is an open question how far England was blamable in using the strong hand.

"Egypt's commercial prosperity was in British hands, while England's overlordship of India made it necessary for her to control the Suez Canal. This control was admitted by Turkey, and England possessed treaty rights whereby she might fortify and defend the canal, yet Turkey attacked the forces which were performing that very duty.

"Diplomatically considered, England's position was as open to criticism as that of Turkey, but in the larger question of the betterment of the world's peace, it is sure that Egypt as an English protectorate was more stable during the rest of the war than she would have been, either independent or in the position of a semi-rebellious Turkish province."

XXXIII

BATTERING AT THE DARDANELLES

STRATEGICALLY considered — began the Military Expert, as he bowed to the Diplomat in mute recognition that he would take up the military phase of the Turkish question — the most important city in the world is Constantinople. Its natural strength of position is apparent when it is remembered that the massed forces of the British Empire, ships and men, failed to take it after nine months' continuous effort. It is the outlet from the Black Sea and hence for the Danube countries and the south of Russia. It is the key to the eastern end of the Mediterranean and the Grecian archipelago. It is the point of contact with Asia Minor and the all-dominating focus of the Bagdad Railway.

In naval circles, there had gradually arisen a profound belief that the Dardanelles could be forced. Naval guns, possessing greater power and longer range than any land ordnance manufactured to that time (the *Queen Elizabeth* carried 15-inch guns), were believed potent to smash any land defences.[1] On February 19, 1915, the greatest battleships of the British and French fleets steamed to the en-

[1] The reader is reminded of the difference between direct gun fire and howitzer fire in Chapter IX. This explains the success of German bombardment at Namur and the failure of British bombardment in the Dardanelles.

trance. The outer forts, Cape Hellas on the European side and Kum Kale on the Asian side, were soon silenced.

The Narrows were then swept clear of mines and on February 26 the main bombardment began. This was a different matter, for, in order to reach the inner forts, the battleships would have to come within their range. Again on March 3, March 4, and March 7, the bombardment was resumed, preparatory to the great final action.

On March 18 the British *Queen Elizabeth, Prince George, Agamemnon, Lord Nelson, Triumph* and *Inflexible* plunged boldly up the Narrows under the concentrated fire of the forts. They were followed by the French battleships *Suffren, Gaulois, Bouvet* and *Charlemagne,* which, greatly daring, ran even closer in. This gave room for six more British battleships and cruisers: the *Ocean, Swiftsure, Majestic, Albion, Irresistible* and *Vengeance.* These were all Dreadnoughts or super-Dreadnoughts. Never, in the history of naval warfare, had such a battery of guns been arrayed against a fortified position.

The result was not long in doubt. The *Bouvet* struck a mine and sank, having already become crippled by three high-explosive shells. The *Irresistible,* riddled by Turkish shell-fire, ran into a mine and went to the bottom. The *Ocean* sank from innumerable shellholes. The *Gaulois* was smashed to bits, but she succeeded in getting out. The *Inflexible* was set on fire.

At the end of the day, the forts of the Dardanelles were firing as cheerfully as ever. Long after, a story went the rounds that the forts were almost out of shell, and that if the fleet had attacked again next day, they could have sailed up to the Golden Horn without opposition. The report lacked confirmation, though, at that time, Serbia still held

the through railway line from Germany to Turkey and munitions could only pass through Roumania.[1] There were many forts, higher up, which had never even come into action; they must have had munitions. One thing stood out

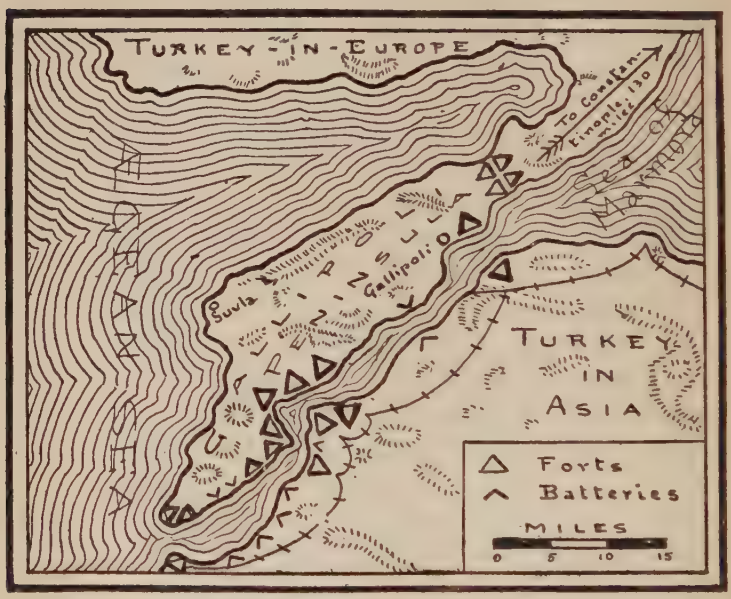


FIG. 26. THE IMPREGNABLE DARDANELLES

From Sedd-ul-Barr (Europe) and Kum Kale (Asia) through the Narrows and through Gallipoli Strait into the Sea of Marmora. Though the most powerful naval guns in the world were directed on these forts, a huge fleet was driven back; though an immense army landed at the tip and at Suvla, seven months of gallant fighting ended in costly disaster.

clear — with a sufficient supply of shell for the land forts the Dardanelles could not be forced.

Since sea attack had failed, the next attempt must be to force the Dardanelles forts by land. To do this, the Galli-

[1] Thanks to a pro-German monarch, neutral Roumania was allowing this. But it was kept secret from the Roumanian people.

poli Peninsula must be taken. This peninsula is a narrow strip of mountainous country, sixty miles long and averaging seven miles wide. It is a natural fortress. The beaches are very narrow, backed by almost inaccessible cliffs. The ideal manner of taking this peninsula would be by naval action from the Sea of Marmora and by land action from the other side, at the narrowest part of the isthmus. This had been proved impossible, for the reason that the combined guns of sixteen super-Dreadnoughts had not been able to force the passage into the Sea of Marmora.

That left only one alternative, to force a low-lying plain between the two fortified heights of Sari Bair to the west and Kilid Bair to the east. But, in order to make the necessary landings, it would also be necessary to force the high crest of Achi Baba, only three and a half miles from the tip of the peninsula. In other words, all the heights would have to be won.

The landing was done in three parties. On Sunday, April 25, 1915, the British landed at five beaches near the tip, the Anzacs (or Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) landed near Sari Bair and the French landed at Kum Kale.

Every inch of the ground was mined, every foot was covered by a cross and enfilading fire, every yard was studded with barbed wire and spikes, every furlong had a machine gun nest, every height hid a heavy battery. The losses in landing were desperate. Scores of boatloads of men had not a survivor to reach the shore. That a single living man landed at all was a wonder, that any stayed alive, after landing in that torrent of death, was more wonderful still.

The fighting continued night and day for three days. At

the end of that time the French had been driven off entirely, the British had intrenched on the tip of the peninsula, but were exposed to constant fire; the Anzacs had dug in near Sari Bair and were holding an absolutely useless strip of beach by sheer nerve. The Allies were out-maneuvered and out-fought. Military leaders learned once more, what they ought to have remembered from Le Grand Couronné of Nancy, that human gallantry cannot storm a height held by modern artillery. Those three days cost the British and the Anzacs 40,000 men, or more than the three long years of the Boer War.

Having actually gained a toe-hold on the peninsula, England would not give up. In spite of experience, in spite of disease, in spite of every military reason against such action, the British command ordered another landing, at Suvla Bay. Achi Baba had almost been entered on June 4, one important outwork, the Haricot, having been successfully taken and garrisoned by French Senegalese troops. This gave the Allies hope that, if a sufficiently strong attempt were made, Achi Baba might fall.

At midnight, August 6, the army landed, and pressed inland without delay. By dawn, August 7, the battle began in earnest. The Turks handled their artillery with extraordinary precision and gallantry (there is no braver nor more chivalrous soldier than the Turk) and held the invaders back. It was a charge into the maw of death, but the British, Anzac and Indian troops took it eagerly. August 7th and 8th were days of slaughter. On the 9th some New Zealanders and Ghurkas actually carried Rhododendron Ridge, which they held for ten seconds. Then a blast of shrapnel from 160 guns, timed to the minute, blew the ridge clear. One last final attack was made as late as August 21.

It made graves, no more. The Turk held his ground without flinching.

There is no possible military excuse or palliation for such needless and ill-managed slaughter. There was no urgency so great as to permit a continuance of the useless campaign. England's total losses, killed, wounded, missing and invalided home, ran close to 200,000 men, making it the most costly campaign in the history of war. Yet not one single point had been gained. Achi Baba was not taken, Sari Bair saw one of its outworks seized for ten seconds and Kilid Bair was never even within the slightest reach of danger. On December 19, 1915, the Anzacs left Anzac Cove and Suvla Bay, and on January 6, 1916, the British left the tip of the peninsula. That this retreat was admirably carried out does not for a minute hide the utter, complete and disastrous defeat inflicted by Turkey on the pride and strength of England.

XXXIV

BLOODY WORK IN THE CAUCASUS

VIEWED from the Turkish point of view, the first year of the war, and especially the autumn of 1915, had been sufficiently encouraging. Bulgaria had thrown in her fate with the Central Powers, and, thereby, Serbia had been stamped out of existence. The combined British and French fleets had been repulsed from the Dardanelles. Gallipoli Peninsula had witnessed one of the most crushing defeats the British Empire had ever sustained. Russia had been hurled back from all the gains she had made, and the treacherous Czar was nominally at the head of his army to betray his people further.

So far, all seemed well to Turkey on the European side. But it must not be forgotten that Turkey was an empire with vast Asiatic possessions. Her battle-front was not solely at Gallipoli and the far south of Palestine. To the northeast Russia threatened her from the Caucasus; to the southeast Britain menaced from Mesopotamia. Of these two, the most pressing was the situation in the Caucasus, for that actually attacked Turkish possessions while the Mesopotamia campaign was a menace rather to German aspirations. The Caucasus front was all the more imperilled because civil war raged in Armenia, as it had raged for centuries, indeed ever since the Turk took the overlordship of this patriotic and Christian nation.

Immediately upon the declaration of war, an army of 2,000,000 Turks, commanded almost entirely by German officers, and under the supreme command of the German general, Marshal von Sanders, undertook the invasion of Russia from the Caucasus Mountains, striking the first hard blow on November 3, 1914. The principal object of attack was the advanced fortress of Kars. The Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Army Corps undertook the attack. The strategy was well devised, but the actual tactics were poorly handled. Turkish troops, though magnificent fighters, were less efficiently disciplined than the Germans. Consequently, although these three army corps were striking at the same place, the attack was not co-ordinated, and, in that rugged and pathless mountain region of the Caucasus, there was no way for Marshal von Sanders to bring them together.

The natural result was that the Russians took those corps, one at a time, and ate them up. The Ninth was almost annihilated at Sar Kamish; the Tenth was surrounded and, later, cut in pieces in an effort to retreat; the Eleventh was sent flying back to Erzerum, the strongest fortress on the Turkish frontier. A few weeks later, in January, 1915, the Twelfth Corps invaded Persia and thence tried to work its way into Russia, but also was defeated shortly afterwards.

These were defensive tactics on the part of Russia, who was content with holding her boundary and did not attempt, on her part, the terrible passage of the Caucasus for the purpose of invading Turkey. She rested on the defensive during 1915, what time her armies on the eastern front were being continuously defeated by von Mackensen.

When, however, Grand Duke Nicholas, a military leader of the first rank, and a true Russian at heart, was deposed

from the Supreme Command and sent to take charge in the Caucasus, there was a sharp change in affairs. He spent the autumn of 1915 in reorganizing the army and preparing for offensive measures.

On January 10, 1916, the Grand Duke struck at four points, with instant success at each, and the Turkish Army retired precipitately from its advanced positions, taking up, in its turn, defensive positions on the Deve Boyun Ridge, a natural rock barrier which stands 2500 feet above the plateau and was defended by eleven forts. It is true that, owing to the poor roads, the heavier German artillery had not been brought up to defend these heights, but even so, the capture of the eleven forts in less than a month was an extraordinary military feat.

Grand Duke Nicholas did not rest there. The great fortress of Erzerum, defended by a ring of eighteen forts, was his main objective, and Erzerum was the Verdun of Turkey. The Russian commander believed in the ability of his troops to operate in winter through the most impassable country. At the same time that he made an aggressive frontal attack, on February 12, 1916, he sent out two flanking armies, one from the north by a mountain road, the other from the south, where there was not even a footpath. Snow lay deep on the mountain-sides, and all the advantage lay with the defenders, yet, after five days' assault, Erzerum fell. The Verdun of Asia Minor was captured.

Control of Erzerum gave the Russians control of the whole ridge. The Turkish armies retreated to the three fortified points defending the interior of Asia Minor; Trebizond, on the shores of the Black Sea; Erzingan, a second Erzerum and commanding the last great ridge which dominated the interior; and Bitlis, the coast city of Lake Van,

FIG. 27. THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CAUCASUS

Note the barrier of the Caucasus Mountains, only to be reached either by the Military highway to Tiflis or the only railroad through Baku and Tiflis. The dotted area represents the Armenia area; in Russia, as defined by the Brest-Litovsk treaty, in Turkey by percentage (over 70%) of population.

the direct way to cut the Bagdad Railroad. The Grand Duke drove his army on. Bitlis was taken in a snowstorm on March 2; Trebizond was taken by combined naval and land attack on April 17; and Erzingan, the most important of all, surrendered on July 26, 1916. Thus all of Armenia fell into Russian hands.

Here the victorious march of the Russian armies was stayed, just at the point when another month of success would have given them control of the Bagdad Railway, and when even a slight further advance would have cut the German-Turkish armies in two. But Grand Duke Nicholas did not dare to advance further. His own position, though that of the commander of a victorious army, had become precarious in the extreme. Behind him was brewing the Revolution, which, a few months later, was to wreck Russia from within; before him lay the strong Turkish recoil as a result of the British failure in the first campaign in Mesopotamia.

The best that he could do was to hold fast as much of his advanced line as was permitted by the unbelievable difficulties of transport, and await the opportunity to make an effective junction with the Allies advancing from the south. The disaster of Kut-el-Amara was the death-blow to Russia's magnificent campaign in the Caucasus. The only actual gain, at the time, was the temporary relief in the sufferings of Armenia.

"A relief which lasted only a short while," remarked the Chief of Staff, sadly. "The Turkish atrocities in Armenia have never ceased to horrify and surprise me."

"To horrify, yes," agreed the Diplomat, "but to surprise, no! The Turks are not a European, nor, in the truest

sense of the word, a civilized people. The marauding horde of wild horsemen which, in the twelfth century, swept down from the plains of Central Asia upon Asia Minor, was, during the World War, a barbarian horde still. Those early marauders had no alphabet, no literature, no art, no architecture. All modern Turkish culture was borrowed from the Arab. All Turkish architecture was a mixture of Arab and Byzantine. All Turkish commerce was in the hands of the Greeks, Jews and Armenians. Turkish political thought was based on a deep-rooted belief that subject nations are slaves. The political party of the 'Young Turks,' which forced a constitution on the empire, was a foreign movement. At the beginning of the war it was swept away and Turkey reverted to the old ideas. The Ottoman brigand type resumed control. Regard the Armenian question!

"In the northeastern part of Asia Minor, bordering on Russia, were six Turkish provinces populated largely by Armenians, a non-Turkish and aggressively Christian race. The Armenians, one of the oldest pure races of the world, were intellectually and morally the superiors of their conquerors. Since they could not be converted to the Moslem faith, and since they had always caused the hatred and envy of their conquerors, Turkey undertook to put the whole population to the sword. Between 1876 and 1896, more than 2,000,000 Armenian men, women and children were callously slaughtered. Then England stepped in and stopped the organized massacres, though the atrocities continued secretly.

"The German Kaiser authorized the Sultan to resume the massacres, if he wished, and they were renewed. The war increased the opportunity. In 1915 the Armenians

were again at the mercy of Turkey and systematic shooting of village populations was ordered. In other quarters wholesale deportations were organized.

"Between April and October, 1915, about 1,200,000 Armenians were taken from their homes, robbed, mutilated, enslaved, or murdered. The American Ambassador protested without ceasing and without result.

"Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, defended the outrages on three grounds, that the Armenians had enriched themselves at the expense of the Turks, that they had expressed an intention to establish a separate state, and that they were in secret alliance with Russia, Turkey's enemy. In honesty it must be admitted that there was color to these reasons. The Armenians did control the trade, they had started a revolution in Van, and the Catholicos or Patriarch of the Armenian Church had openly placed himself on the Russian side. The final diplomatic answer, which admitted of no reply, was that neither England, which was an enemy, nor the United States, a neutral at first and afterwards an enemy, had any right to interfere in the administration of Turkish provinces which had become rebellious and were treasonably aiding the enemy."

"But," said the American, hotly, "you do not mean to suggest that a mere diplomatic technicality justified Turkey's vile and unspeakable barbarities in Armenia?"

"There is never any justification for barbarities," the Diplomat replied. "In my judgment, they can only be averted by releasing subject peoples from harsh conquerors. History shows that self-determination has been the only basis of liberty."

XXXV

STRIFE IN THE GARDEN OF EDEN

"BEFORE my friend enters upon his presentation of the military campaigns in Mesopotamia," continued the Diplomat, "I should like to emphasize the peculiar importance of that region, internationally. To many people, it seemed strange that, while France, Belgium, Italy and Russia were battling for their very existence against Germany, England should devote so much money and men to that distant corner of the world, where, tradition states, the Garden of Eden was located.

"In the World War, from first to last, the main German purpose was not westerly, but easterly. Bagdad was much more important than Paris. Control of the Bosphorus and of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers would have given Germany a world empire. All roads led to that pathway of the East. It was essential to the Allies, and not to England alone, that this gigantic project be frustrated.

"Be it remembered that control of the head of the Persian Gulf would have placed England's Indian Empire, if not entirely at Germany's mercy, sufficiently so to imperil it for all time. Abadan, at the head of the Gulf, is one of the greatest oil ports of the world. It is vital to England as a naval base. Its value to Germany as a naval base could not be counted in millions of dollars nor yet in mil-

lions of lives. There are certain keys to world-power. Abadan is one of those keys.

"The modern world, moreover, has come to realize that seaports are not the only keys. Great railroad junctions are equally important to the handling of land forces. Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Bagdad are the keys to that whole vast expanse of territory which lies between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

"Once again, as has been remarked, in dealing with Oriental peoples prestige is all-important. This prestige must be visible. The flag of a power floating over a port is less impressive than the same flag floating over an ancient capital, or a modern commercial city. The capture of Damascus and Bagdad, the latter especially, must be regarded as a trumpet-peal to the East.

"It may be true, as has been suggested, that England entered the war for her own profit. It is certainly sure that no nation entered it deliberately for her own loss. In one way or another, every country and people becomes willing to endure the terrible sacrifices of war only because there is something to be won or defended.

"It may be purely defensive, as was the case with France; it may be for honor, as in the case of Belgium; it may be to gain territory, as in the case of Italy; it may be commercial supremacy, as suggested in the case of England; it may be national pride, as I suppose my friend, Mr. War Correspondent, would say of America, but, in every case, it is the fulfilment of a desire. If England gained the greatest territorial profit out of the war, it must be remembered that she did most of the fighting in those countries where the territory has been gained."

The Military Expert nodded in agreement.

"What Mr. Diplomat has said is entirely true," he answered, "but perhaps I might add that, in the case of Mesopotamia, the greater burden was not borne by English troops, which could ill support that awful climate, but by Indian troops, which, in turn, could not endure the wet and cold of the trenches of northern France. With the single exception of sending soldiers to Gallipoli who should have been sent to the aid of Serbia, there is little with which to reproach England for her aid to the Allies during the war. Certainly her campaigns in Mesopotamia were rightfully as much a part of the war as the campaigns of France in Syria or Japan in Kiao-Chau. Permit me to analyse them briefly:

Britain's first move in Mesopotamia (the land of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers) was quick and decisive. Immediately after Turkey's declaration of war, on November 7, 1914, an English brigade attacked and captured the decrepit Turkish fort of Fao. Troops were landed November 16, and the Turks defeated at Sahil November 17. The river port of Basra was captured on November 22, and the British immediately turned that small town into a large and important naval base, thus protecting the little but all-important point of Abadan, the terminus of the Persian oil pipe line. On December 6, Kurna, fifty miles up the river, surrendered to the British, and this was solidly intrenched and fortified, as an advance post to Basra.

The summer of 1915 witnessed a further advance up the Tigris by a small force, a force so small that commander after commander warned the Military Councils in India and England that it was insufficient for the purpose. General Townshend captured Amara on June 3; Nasiriyeh, on the Euphrates, on July 24; and Kut-el-Amara on September

28, the latter battle being a most important victory. Again word was sent that it was inadvisable to advance further, but the orders to advance were sent, nevertheless.

From Kut-el-Amara, with insufficient provisions, little water and practically no means of transport over the alternate swamps and deserts, Townshend pushed northward in the hope of reaching Bagdad. By heroic marches and despite terrible suffering the British and Indian army reached Ctesiphon,[1] within eighteen miles of Bagdad. There it faced an immense Turkish army, well intrenched, with German artillery. The date was November 21, 1915.

Now, it may be remembered that the third great assault on the Gallipoli Peninsula occurred August 21, 1915. It may also be recalled that Grand Duke Nicholas had not yet begun his campaign in the Caucasus. Therefore the Turkish army was enabled to be in full strength at Ctesiphon. Townshend was outnumbered about five to one, and the British troops were exhausted from fatigue and disease.

In spite of this, the first movements of the great battle of Ctesiphon, on November 22, 1915, presaged a British success. The first-line trenches were won, and a flanking movement showed signs of winning its objectives. Then, from the rear, up came clouds of Turkish reserves and Townshend was fairly crushed under the weight of men and shells. The British fought well, but they had never a chance. Only a fighting retreat remained.

Hotly pursued, the British retraced their steps down the Tigris, their casualties 6,800 men on the first day. The Turks gave them not a moment's peace, day or night, and when the British halted at Kut-el-Amara, eighty miles be-

[1] For details of this marvelous campaign, the reader is referred to "The Wonder of War in the Holy Land," by the same author.

low, almost two-thirds of Townshend's army were killed, wounded or missing. The British commander dug in at Kut-el-Amara, with 10,000 men, on December 5, 1915, awaiting re-enforcements from Basra.

The evacuation of Gallipoli Peninsula in November and

FIG. 28. BRITISH BESIEGED AT KUT-EL-AMARA

Note how the Turkish trenches closed all passage up to the impassable marsh. In the second campaign the British constructed strategic railways along the Tigris to Amara and along the Euphrates to Nazariyeh. In the last year of the war these railways were completed to Bagdad.

December released 300,000 Turkish troops for other fronts. Of these 150,000 men were sent at once to Kut-el-Amara to surround that British force, with instructions either to capture it at once or to establish such strong defensive works between it and the main British army that relief would be impossible.

On January 4, 1916, strong British re-enforcements arrived at Basra and started north to Townshend's relief. Two months of continuous fighting in the traditional "Garden of Eden" brought them to the advance post of the Turks at Es Sinn. During the first two weeks of March these trenches were taken and retaken three times. Then, worn out with disease, weakened by the deadly climate, harassed by innumerable legions of mosquitoes and sandflies and short of water and provisions, the British fell back, Kut-el-Amara not relieved.

Again, in April, 1916, another British force tried to run the Turkish gauntlet, fighting for ten days in water almost up to the men's waists. The Turks resisted stubbornly, and the British were again thrown back. A last forlorn hope occurred when a relief ship tried to steam between the river banks lined with Turkish and German guns.

All was in vain. On April 29, on the 143d day of the siege, Kut surrendered, 8,970 troops going into Turkish captivity. It was a greater blow to British pride than had happened in centuries, it was a moral shock which nearly cost England all her prestige in the East. After Gallipoli and Kut-el-Amara, the foundations of the Empire were shaken. Persia wavered in her alliance, India grew restive, riots broke out in Egypt, and the Turks thrust back the Russian front upon the Caucasus. The Eastern situation was fraught with peril. England, for the time being, had failed.

XXXVI

SALONIKI, A NEW WORLD FORTRESS

NOT less great than the anxiety produced during the late spring of 1916 by the British surrender of Kut-el-Amara — continued the Diplomat — was the nervousness and tension in the Near East caused by the failure of the Serbian campaign. In both cases, however, the Allies had guarded their retreats by the establishment of powerful naval bases, at Basra and Saloniki respectively. The latter, especially, was of the highest importance.

For many years, Gibraltar had been the symbol of a great world-fortress. It was such, both in point of strategical importance and strength of natural position. It controlled the gate of the Mediterranean Sea. Shipping passed in and out under permission of the fortress guns. One of Germany's great regrets had been that Spain's weakness kept her from declaring her sympathy with the Central Powers and seizing Gibraltar.

Vast modern railroad systems and, more particularly, the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway project, had convinced Great Britain that control of the western end of the Mediterranean did not suffice. England must have a powerful naval base at the east end of the inland sea.

It was mainly with the hope of gaining Constantinople as this naval base that England tried to force the Dardanelles by a mammoth naval action and spent 200,000 lives

and vast sums of money in a vain effort to storm the Gallipoli Peninsula. These measures failing, she turned her attention to Saloniki with a more determined concentration.

There were several excellent reasons for England's insistence on the Macedonian port of Saloniki. First, an armed base was a most desirable aid to diplomatic negotiations with Greece, a country which, for twenty-five centuries, had held a reputation for diplomatic untrustworthiness, a reputation well-sustained during the World War; second, Saloniki had an unusually good natural harbor, susceptible of impregnability if well developed; third, Saloniki possessed the only railroad running north to tap the Berlin-to-Bagdad line; fourth, it held the roads to Monastir and Macedonia — that bone of Balkan contention; fifth, it afforded an excellent base from which to menace Turkey; sixth, and not the least important, it opened the Vardar gate to the interior of the Balkans, the principal means of access to that mountain-embowered region.

To count on anticipated untrustworthiness as a reason for military action may seem unjust, but diplomats must deal with situations as they exist, not as they ought to be. Nations are like individuals. Some are to be trusted, others, not. For all beliefs, there is a reason.

Dependent on past glory rather than on present deeds, Greece had laid claim to the whole territories of the ancient Byzantine Empire. She had demanded Macedonia, Albania and Dalmatia, with control of the Adriatic; she wanted all of European Turkey, together with Constantinople and control of the Dardanelles; sought possession of a considerable slice of Asia Minor and reached out for all the islands in the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Moderate

claims demand attention, but such immoderate ideas only brought out suspicion. Moreover, there was not a shadow of justification for these claims, since the territories sought were Greek neither in culture, population nor language.

When the World War opened, Greece was in a position of dependence to France and England, as these two Powers had provided that she should receive territorial prizes in the treaty that ended the Second Balkan War. Moreover, Greece and Serbia were allies. Equally, Greece and Bulgaria, and Greece and Turkey, were natural enemies. Almost as a matter of course, in February, 1915, the Allies asked Greece to send an army to aid them in their attack on the Dardanelles.

The King of Greece flatly refused. As usual, Greece was divided within herself. King Constantine was not a Greek but a German. Moreover, he was married to Princess Sophia of Prussia, sister of the Kaiser. He was, therefore, the Kaiser's brother-in-law. The cabinet ministers were chosen by him, and Pro-Germanism was a necessary qualification for appointment. Constantine based his refusal on the grounds of neutrality, but to his own people, through his ministers, he pointed out the danger of offending both Bulgaria and Turkey, leaving the Greek frontier open to attack.

Moreover, it was beginning to be evident that, sooner or later, Italy would enter the war. And, between Greece and Italy, there was no love lost. They were always at daggers drawn with regard to islands in the Ægean Archipelago. Both also claimed Albania. Both sought control of the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. On the other hand, popular sentiment was hostile to the king, rather than friendly to the Allies. Greek neutrality was never

an open condition, but a devious plotting and counter-plotting compromise.

There were thus three parties in Greece; one, that of the patriots, friendly to the Allies and led by the great statesman Venizelos; the part of the court, friendly to the Central Powers and led by the Kaiser's brother-in-law; the third, the party of the people, blown first this way and then that, and staying neutral because of lack of definite decision one way or the other. The entrance of Italy into the war still further complicated Greece's position, because there had already existed a strong anti-Italian sentiment, which was opposed to any alliance in which Italy had a part.

The entrance of Bulgaria into the war forced the hand of Greece. On September 16, 1915, the Allies demanded of Bulgaria that she declare herself on one side or the other. On September 21, Bulgaria mobilized. On September 25, Greece mobilized in turn, and, on September 30, all the parties in the Greek parliament supported Venizelos. That same day, the first Allied troops commenced to land in Saloniki. On October 5, in response to a great disturbance by the pro-neutrals and pro-Germans, Venizelos explained that these troops were landed in full agreement with the Greece-Serbia treaty and Parliament passed a vote of confidence in the premier.

Then royalty intervened. On October 6, Venizelos resigned at the demand of the King. On October 15, the new pro-German premier informed the British government that Greece would not enter the war at that time. On November 4, the pro-German cabinet fell, and a new one was called by the King. The new cabinet also failed

to get the support of the country. Whereupon, by royal decree, parliament was dissolved.

On May 27, 1916 the King went so far as to direct his officers to surrender to the Bulgarians three forts in the Struma Valley. He brought the lightning down on his head. The Allies began a blockade, the Venizelos party rose up in revolt. The King fled from his capital, but continued his plotting.

Finally, on June 20, the Allies forced Greece to a friendly neutrality. For one long year Constantine played false to his country and maintained underhand relations with Berlin, but at last he was compelled to abdicate on June 13, 1917. The following day the Kaiser telegraphed that "the mailed fist of Germany will restore you to your throne." Less than eighteen months later, the Kaiser had neither mailed fist nor throne.

These civil broils, however, were not allowed to interfere with the Allies' plans at Saloniki, though they delayed matters. The original intention of the Saloniki move had been to help Serbia. As, however, the German invasion of Serbia had begun on October 3, 1915, as the Bulgarians had stabbed Serbia in the back on October 13, and as the Allied advance from Saloniki did not begin until October 14, it is evident that the Allies did not start until the day after Serbia was hopelessly beaten. This made the campaign useless.

The French troops did their best, but all efforts were helpless against the Bulgarian re-enforcements. Not one Allied soldier reached Serbia. That little country was stamped into the ground under the Teuton heel, unaided. A few wan ghosts, diseased, frost-bitten, exhausted, starved,

denied food and aid by the Albanians, staggered over the mountains and reached Valona on the Adriatic coast in December, 1915, all that was left of the gallant Serbian Army. So ended the first phase of the Saloniki campaign.

The second phase was the creation of Saloniki as a second Gibraltar from the sea, and a second Verdun from the land. Not a shot was ever fired at the fortress and the British engineers worked in peace. Every device known to the most modern castramentation was lavished on it. It became, before the end of the war, one of the most powerful fortresses the world has ever seen.

Then, upon the already complicated Balkan situation, came Roumania's entrance into the war, on the side of the Allies, the Declaration of War being made on August 27, 1916. This, also, was prefaced by civil war. Though the Roumanians are of a Latin race, closely akin to the Italian, and have no ethnic alliance with the Teuton, Turk and Slav peoples by whom they are surrounded, their king was a Hohenzollern, related to the Kaiser, and the Queen was a German princess of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

Two weeks after Roumania joined the fray, the Allies struck north at Bulgaria from the two main landing points, Valona on the Adriatic Sea, and Saloniki on the Ægean Sea. The chief part in the fighting was borne by the reorganized Serbian Army, acting with French divisions, all under the command of General Sarrail. On September 10, 1916 the Struma River was crossed, on September 29–30, after heavy artillery preparation, all the advanced Bulgarian positions to the east were taken. To the west, the Serbians had captured the high peak of Kaymakchalan, enabling the building of a railway to bring up the heavy guns.

October passed with terrific fighting between the Serb-

ians and the Bulgars, and the famous "lines of Kenali" which had defied the Allies for two months, were taken on November 14. A short but desperate stand was made at Monastir, but on November 19 Serbian and French troops entered this vital point, the most important town in Southern Serbia, thus restoring a small corner of that country and keeping the Serbs together. The Allied armies dug in for the winter and a deadlock was formed.

"I have never quite understood," said the War Correspondent, "just how the Allies came to occupy Saloniki. Wasn't that a breach of neutrality?"

"The answer to that question hinges on an interpretation of constitutional government," the Diplomat answered. "On the day of the first landing of the troops, Venizelos, the premier, and the Greek Parliament, which had been regularly elected, approved the landing. It was also admitted to be in accord with a treaty agreement between Serbia and Greece.

"The pro-German king declared the presence of the troops a violation. If, in a constitutional monarchy, the voice of the parliament is supreme, it was not a violation; if the voice of the king be supreme, it was. In view of the fact that the king later was compelled to abdicate, history must judge that the authority was in the hands of the people, and that the Allies were justified."

XXXVII

THE BRIEF FLARE OF ROUMANIA

RACIALLY considered, at the beginning of the World War, Roumania was a Latin island, surrounded by Slavic, Teuton and Tartar seas. Territorially, she was greatly involved. Just as there was, before the war, a "Greater Serbia," a "Greater Greece," and a "Greater Bulgaria" plan, so there was a "Greater Roumania" idea. This embraced Bessarabia in Russia, Transylvania in Hungary and part of Bukovina in Hungary. In each of these territories the population was predominantly Roumanian.

International complications — especially in the Balkans — have generally been due to the fact that political boundaries do not agree with racial boundaries. Just as, in the case of Italy, she had her rivals, Austria and Serbia, in opposite camps; so Roumania found her territorial rivals, Russia and Austro-Hungary, in opposite camps. If she sided with the Allies, farewell to any hope of gain in Bessarabia; if she sided with the Central Powers, she could not expect relief in the Transylvania or Bukovina controversies. Like Italy, therefore, Roumania waited to see which of the two warring groups looked most like the winning side. She guessed right, but she chose her time badly.

The break-up of Russia was one of the factors which decided Roumania. The Allies had stated that a Greater Roumania, inclusive of the three disputed territories, thus

possessing an area as large as that of Italy and a Roumanian population of 14,000,000, would be a valuable European barrier against Teuton aggression eastward. Acting on the Allies' promise that both Bessarabia and Bukovina would be given her, Roumania declared war against Austria, on August 27, 1916, and, on the same day, Germany and Turkey declared war on Roumania.

From the military point of view, it is a little difficult to see why Roumania acted as she did at the time she did. Had she joined hands with Serbia, at the beginning, or even in the autumn of 1915, she could have worried Bulgaria seriously, she could certainly have given Serbia enough support to hold the fort for the Allied armies approaching from Saloniki and she might have saved much bloodshed in the Balkans. But she waited until the worst possible moment, and there is more than a suspicion that Roumania's declaration of war on the side of the Allies was forced, not by the pro-Ally party, but by the pro-German king and court, who realized that the time was opportune for a German-Austrian invasion.

Not only that, but the German king of Roumania was a strong advocate for an immediate advance into Transylvania, the most utterly wrong-headed military policy imaginable. It might have been a success, if Roumania had possessed huge numbers and a vast store of heavy artillery. Without that, the dream of capturing and holding the Maros Valley as far as the Iron Gate was unfounded and unreasonable.

As soon became evident, Roumania's true military strategy would have been to fortify all the passes through the Transylvanian Alps, thus preventing invasion, and then to have thrown her whole force southward through the

open country of the Dobrudja, holding, at any cost, the great bridge across the Danube at Cernavoda, the only bridge across that immense river east of Belgrade. A grim and significant statement was that of von Hindenburg when he heard that Roumania had opened her campaign by invading Transylvania. "We will welcome Roumania into the war," he said, "there will be no need of trench warfare there."

There was not. By keeping open the mountain passes for herself, Roumania left them open for her enemies; by only lightly holding the Dobrudja, with its control of the Black Sea Coast, of the Constanza Railway and of the Cernavoda bridge, she invited a swift and immediate counter-attack.

Success, a most suspicious success, awaited the first Roumanian advance. Almost without a blow the Austrians retreated from the mountain passes, and the three most important gaps were taken August 29, two days after the declaration of war. On August 30, Kronstadt, an important military point, fell into Roumanian hands, Petroseny fell on September 1 and on September 2, Orsova, near the Iron Gate of the Danube, also was occupied by a Roumanian Army. Meanwhile, General von Falkenhayn was preparing for an offensive in this very sector. General von Mackensen was getting ready to strike at Dobrudja.

The strategy of von Mackensen, added to the use of German heavy artillery, soon began to tell. He struck on September 2, the same day that the advancing Roumanian army reached as far west as Orsova. He took and held the important fortified point of Tutrakan, thus diverting Roumanian attention to the Dobrudja and then seized a number of points on the Black Sea Coast. On the 19th

von Mackensen smashed the next defensive line. On October 2, the Roumanians, greatly daring, crossed the Danube on pontoon bridges. When they were across, the bridge was blown up by the Germans and the Roumanian force annihilated.

On October 21, von Mackensen renewed his drive. The

FIG. 29. THE CONQUEST OF ROUMANIA

Note the principal passes through the Transylvania Alps by which Roumania invaded Austria and was routed in a forced retreat. Note, also, the Iron Gate, cut through the mountains by the gorge of the Danube. Once these passes are gained Roumania lies open to invasion, since the whole country consists of the Danube valley. The arrows to the north show the invading German-Austrian armies under Von Falkenhayn, those to the south the German-Bulgarian armies under Von Mackensen.

town of Tuzla on the coast was captured, next day Teprai Sari and, on October 23, the all-important port of Constanza was captured and the railroad to Cernavoda cut. This was the beginning of the end. On October 25, Cernavoda was evacuated, and, next day, the great inter-

national bridge was blown up to halt pursuit. The chief bridge-head of the Danube was in German hands. Further conquest in the Dobrudja was only a matter of time.

Meanwhile, General von Falkenhayn, in Transylvania, had not been idle. He had taken the three Roumanian armies, one by one, cut them to pieces and sent them flying back to the shelter of their own passes. Not only that, but the passes themselves were stormed. On November 19, the Germans reached the Wallachian Plain, Craiova being taken November 21 and Orsova November 23. On November 27 Alexandria was captured, and, the day after, the armies of von Falkenhayn and von Mackensen touched. On December 4, the German-Bulgar armies were solidly joined and put under the command of von Mackensen. Nothing was left for the Roumanians but retreat, and the remnant of the army took refuge in the recesses of the mountains to the north. On December 6, Bucharest, the capital, fell into the hands of the invaders. Winter had by this time set in, but Roumania, as a military factor, was out of the war. It had only taken fourteen weeks to thrust her down to defeat.

"Do you think," asked the Economist, "that the Allies should have come more strongly to the aid of Roumania?"

"I do not believe they could have done so," the Military Expert replied. "There is no way to get troops into Roumania except through Russia, or the Black Sea. Perhaps, if Russia had been vigorous and in full force, her campaign in aid of Roumania might have had some result; as it was, the Russian armies did but little execution. I am inclined to agree with my friend, Mr. Diplomat, that Roumania's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies

was arranged by that wily monarch, Ferdinand. Not that I believe, for a moment, that the Roumanians, as a people, were half-hearted in the war. The spirit of the nation was pro-Ally, but it was betrayed by the pro-German court.

"Undoubtedly, even as late as the spring of 1917, the Allies could have done much to aid Roumania, but it is unlikely that their aid would have had any material effect on the larger issues of the war. In any event, troops and supplies must have reached that isolated country through Russia. This had become impossible, for Russia, in the spring of 1917, was in the throes of revolution. Roumania had to be abandoned to her fate."

"Do you consider that Roumania had strong reasons for her claims in Bessarabia and Transylvania?" queried the Economist, turning to the Diplomat.

"Very strong claims historically, and tolerably strong claims from the point of view of population and language," was the Diplomat's reply. "Roumanians are so different from Slav, Teuton, Magyar, or Bulgar that it had been a trial for them to live under such alien domination. In both Transylvania and Bessarabia the population was a little less than half Roumanian, but the proportion had steadily increased. Historically, both territories belonged to them prior to the invasion of the Turks.

"Before the war Roumania was almost a feudal state and its sole wealth lay in agriculture, for it is blessed with a soil as rich as the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula is poor. Though not a warlike people, they had held their own during the Balkan troubles. Roumanian weakness had lain in the fact that the peasant population had paid little attention to its own economic and political development, leaving that in the hands of the nobles."

XXXVIII

THE BRIDGE-HEAD OF GORITZIA

WHILE Roumania had stepped for her brief moment on that terrible stage of death on which War had rung up the curtain — began the Military Expert, taking up the story — her Latin sister Italy had been holding back the Austrian enemy on the high Alpine passes with the same vigor with which she had begun. The deadlock established soon after the opening of war in the spring of 1915 continued until the spring of 1916 and then the Austrians concentrated all their forces for a drive from the Trentino region.

This became one of the important drives of the war, both in its intensity and in the success of the original attack. The Trentino is a triangular point of land dipping down into Italy, Lake Garda being at the extreme tip. Seven fortresses surrounded this: Bergano, Brescia, Peschiera, Verona, Vicenza, Arsiero, and Belluno. The main pass into Italy on the eastern side is the Tezzi Pass, near the base of which curls the Piave River, the town of Asiago lying under protection of the guns of Arsiero. Venice, on the Adriatic Coast, is less than seventy miles from the frontier. (See Fig. 26.)

Right at the beginning of the war, Italy had invaded the Trentino, striking at the Austrian city of Trent. She had been stopped at the Rovereto defences and the line

had changed little during a year. At the beginning of war, also, the main force of the Italian army was directed at Goritzia and the Isonzo, with the aim of breaking through to Trieste. There were only two through railroad lines which fed the Italian armies, one running through Verona, Vicenza, Treviso and Udine, the other through Mantua, Padua and Labisana. If Austria could have taken one of these railroads, all the Italian armies would be imperilled. If she could have taken both, the armies would be cut off, and at one blow Italy would be checkmated in the north, and the fertile valleys of Italy could be exploited for food for blockaded Germany. A blow south from the Trentino, therefore, might change the whole aspect of the war.

On May 15, 1916, the town of Asiago was bombarded at long range. On May 16 and 17 the Austrian drive began, with an extraordinary concentration of men and artillery. In three days the Italians lost 9,000 killed and wounded, and 6,500 prisoners. The frontier was reached and crossed without the Italians being able to check the down-hill rush. Peak after peak was stormed by the Austrians and taken. By May 26, two Austrian armies were sweeping over Italian soil, one attacking the fortress of Arsiero, the other threatening Vicenza. On June 1, Asiago was evacuated, but a strong defensive position was secured. The Austrians were only eighteen miles from the railroad.

Little enough credit has been given to one of the supreme difficulties which Italy was compelled to encounter all through the war. Always she was fighting uphill. Always the enemy had the advantage of artillery position. Nothing ever brought this out in more striking clearness than the

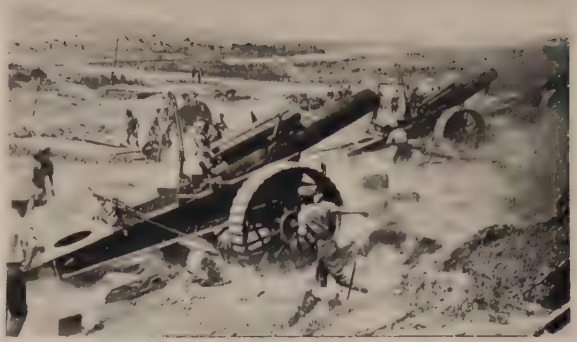
great drive of May, 1916 down from the Trentino. Once the armies had started down-hill, they could not be stopped. But — the minute the Austrians reached the plains and commenced to attack the hastily constructed Italian trenches by mass drives, the situation of the western front presented itself anew.

Mass drives are potent military factors, but they labor under one fearful disadvantage. The heavy artillery cannot keep up the pace, nor can the transport system. A modern army cannot continuously advance, like an army of old, which fought with cold steel. It must wait for its supports. Therefore, every mass drive has a certain impetus. Once that is expended it must stop and dig in until the artillery, the munitions, the provisions, the million requirements of an army have been brought up, and put in safety behind a consolidated defense position.

When, therefore, the Austrians reached the Italian defensive lines beyond Asiago, on June 3, their drive had reached its limit. It halted. That very day, hour and minute, the Italians struck back. Italian casualties in the three weeks of the drive had been 80,000 men. Now it was the turn of the Austrian to lose heavily. They retaliated and struck towards Vicenza again and again, only to be hurled back. On June 6 and 7 it became evident to the invading armies that the eighteen miles which lay between them and the railroad were not to be taken.

Back, back and ever back, the Austrians were pushed. Foot by foot they were driven, the Asiago plateau being forced on June 23, the fortress of Arsiero returning into Italian hands on June 27. Back up the hill again the Austrians were compelled to retreat, fighting every inch of the way, and in July they were thrust back across the

U. S. Naval 14-inch gun at Soissons.



British heavy artillery at Cambrai.

Photos from Brown Bros.

Australian field gun at Gallipoli.

French 75-mm. field gun at St. Mihiel.

TYPES OF ARTILLERY, IN ACTION.

frontier. By July 21, the invaders were back in their old trenches near Rovereto. The Austrian drive from the Trentino had failed.

The Austrian drive from the Trentino was made to correspond with a similar drive on the Isonzo. There, the Austrians gained a few minor heights, but at a loss of life which was prohibitive. In fact, so poor was Austria's success in the Isonzo drive, that it greatly heartened Italy for a corresponding counter-attack. Naturally, also, the drive to thrust the Austrians back into the Trentino was coördinated with an Italian counter-drive on the Isonzo. The Austrians were driven from every position they had taken, and several peaks dominating the Isonzo Valley, and especially menacing the Austrian defensive position at Goritzia were not only taken but consolidated and heavily held by Italian artillery.

The culminating point of this campaign came on August 8, 1916. For many weary months, the Italians had been blasting and drilling a tunnel 838 feet long through the solid rock of Monte Sabotino, without a hint of the operations leaking out. On that day, suddenly the end of the tunnel was blasted clear and Italian soldiers shot from the hole as a torrent from a breaking dam. The position, absolutely impregnable by attack from below, was thus seized in twenty minutes. From every side, now, poured the Italian army. With Italian artillery on Monte Sabotino, the western bank of the Isonzo had become a death trap for the Austrians. Monte San Michele was rushed, and with it was secured artillery control of the bridge-head at Goritzia.

On August 9, 1916 occurred one of the bloodiest and most spectacular combats in the whole war, the fight on the bridge of Goritzia. Italians and Austrians fought with

equal valor. For hours it was a hand-to-hand mêlée. But, every moment of the battle, the Italian artillery on Mont san Michele and on Monte Sabotina was shelling to the rear of the Austrian lines, preventing the advance of reenforcements and silencing enemy gun-fire. There was no lack of gallantry, but the Austrians were pushed back. And ever, as they were driven back, more and more Italian artillery came into play. They broke, and Goritzia, the goal of the Isonzo campaign fell at last into Italian hands.

The cry was then raised: "On to Trieste!" But the Italian drive had spent its force, just as the Austrian drive at Vicenza had waned, some months before. The Austrians, in blasted balconies of solid rock, held a position that infantry attack, however gallant, could not touch. September passed in fruitless fighting and then the Italians consolidated their defence lines on the Isonzo to await the coming of winter. That year, at least, had seen the Austrian invasion encountered and driven back, and the key to Trieste, Goritzia, placed in Italian hands.

XXXIX

THE CITY OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

WHEREAS, on the Italian, Russian, French and Flanders fronts, both armies had dug in for the rain and snows of the winter of 1916–1917, the cooler months formed the only season during which operations could be carried on in the sweltering climate of Mesopotamia. England had the disaster of Kut-el-Amara to avenge, and, besides, the German-Turkish menace in that quarter was growing more dangerous every month. Slowly but surely, the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was being pushed eastward by Turkish laborers working under German engineers.

In the autumn of 1916, General Maude, reputed to be one of the best organizers in the British Army, took command of the Mesopotamian campaign. He saw, at once, as his predecessors had done, that the essential difficulty of campaigns in that country lay in transport. The Tigris, a stream of incredible shallowness and winding ways, was only navigable by river steamers of the lightest draught.

A call for river steamers was sent all over the empire. The response was heroic. From India, from Australia, from Africa, even from England, light-draught steamers, constructed only for smooth waters, dared the passage of the ocean. More than one half of those which left their home rivers were never heard of again, but the other half reached those distant waters and General Maude com-

menced to establish advanced posts up the Tigris, winning the river bank, point by point, and consolidating his gains.

At the same time he urged the sending of cavalry, with an extensive system of remounts, for the climate was almost as telling upon horseflesh as upon men. Over five thousand mules from Missouri found themselves in the Garden of Eden, handling the transport problem on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

Even more important than transport or cavalry remounts was the hospital question. This had been a scandal during the first Mesopotamian campaign, for almost every available hospital unit had been sent to the western front, and Mesopotamia had received only the leavings. General Maude was adamant on the medical and sanitation problems. He said frankly that he would not risk an advance without a hospital system as perfect as could be achieved. He got it. When, at last, he was ready to advance, he was prepared to handle 300,000 sick cases at one time. Artificial ice manufacturing plants had been shipped and set up, for use in the numerous cases of sunstroke, and the camps were kept immaculate. As in Panama, drainage had done much to check the unimaginable myriads of mosquitoes. The sand-fly, alone, defied the best efforts of the British Medical Service and remained, to the last, an even bitterer enemy than the Turks themselves.

Meantime, the bar at Basra had been dredged, thus allowing ocean draught steamers to come up to the naval base. Solid roads had been built along the Tigris. Chiefest of all, two railroads — one single-track and one double-track — had been built from Basra, the first on the Euphrates bank to Nasiriyeh, the other along the Tigris to the British front just below Kut-el-Amara, where the Turks had

constructed what they believed to be an impregnable intrenched camp.

On December 13, 1916, Maude made his first forward move. He smashed the Turkish defenses south of Kut, gaining the control of the Shatt-el-Hai, a little river running from the Euphrates to the Tigris. There the British halted, for the river was not yet high enough for transport purposes, as the annual December rains had not yet commenced. On January 9, 1917, the Turkish trenches northeast of Kut were taken, and again between January 21 and February 3, continuous fighting cleared the Turks back to the city defenses. The British were not aiming mainly to capture the city, but to inflict a crushing defeat on the Turks.

Then, at last Maude struck with all his strength. On February 23–27 he hurled forward a seven-fold attack, by river steamers on the Tigris, by barges on the Euphrates, by frontal infantry attacks at three places, and by huge cavalry armies circling out on either flank. The co-ordination was perfect and the Turks found themselves hemmed in. Fearing lest they should be cut off from their line of communications, they retreated hurriedly. Kut was captured on February 28, 1917. Lajij fell, five days later.

A halt, now, would be disastrous, for Bagdad was full of re-enforcements, which, however, had not reached Kut-el-Amara in time to save the defenses, which had been thought absolutely impregnable. Though a choking sand-storm arose — and a sand-storm in the Mesopotamian wastes is a thing to fear! — the British pushed on by forced marches. On the Diala, a small tributary near Bagdad, a German force made a desperate stand on March 6 and the Turks rallied. But the driving power of the British advance was too

strong, the flotilla of river craft maintained unbroken communications, and, hammered by gunboats from the river, by infantry pushes on land, and by cavalry charges in the rear, the Germans and Turks were beaten back. One more stand by the gates of Bagdad proved equally useless, and the capital of the caliphs, the city of the Arabian Nights, fell into British hands, March 11, 1917.

In a proclamation which is of immense historical importance, General Maude demonstrated to the Arab peoples that the centuries of Turkish overlordship had resulted in nothing but desolation and bondage. He declared that Great Britain purposed to restore the Arab race to its former greatness and renown, and promised the alliance of England in a way which would fulfil the racial ideals and independence of a mighty people. Within a week's time, the British were regarded in Bagdad as deliverers rather than conquerors.

With the terminus of the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad in British hands and with the whole of the Tigris between Bagdad and Basra solidly held by the English, German dreams of Oriental dominion came to an end. To clinch this victory, General Maude captured Samara on April 18 and, in the ensuing fortnight, annihilated two strong Turkish armies sent to oppose his advance. When the terrible heat of Mesopotamian summer closed the campaign, Mosul was threatened and its capture, on the resumption of the campaign, was assured. Kut-el-Amara was avenged and peace and security reigned in the Garden of Eden.

XL

VERDUN AND VALOR

ALTHOUGH the campaigns in the Caucasus, in Mesopotamia, in Africa, and elsewhere, reached either a definite failure or a final success during the years 1916–1917 — continued the Military Expert — it is not to be supposed, for a minute, that their battles were either as huge or as far-reaching in their final effect on the war as the battles on the Western front. Both the Allies and the Central Powers thoroughly understood that a break in that grim embattled line from Switzerland to the sea meant disaster to the side which should suffer it.

It has been shown that the year 1915 revealed the entire deadlock of the situation, and that the only occasion on which the line was broken — by the use of poison gas at Ypres — the Germans failed to take full advantage of the opportunity that their unsoldierly attack had given them. This deadlock continued unbroken for the next two years, although the greatest battle that the world has ever seen — The Battle of the Somme and Arras — and the greatest defence that the world has ever known — the defence of Verdun — raged during those two years.

Verdun was the aim of that tremendous attack, at the very beginning of the war, when, at Le Grand Couronné, the French hurled back mass attack after mass attack, while the Kaiser stood on a hill and watched; Verdun was still in danger when the American soldiers aided the French

in clearing the invaders from the famous salient at St. Mihiel. Battle-fronts might change and sway, offensive be switched from one point to another, but Verdun remained. Never did the Germans cease to storm that pivotal fortress, never did the valor of the French slacken in the defence. Marshal Pétain himself and the youngest poilu under French colors sponged from their memories the word "retreat." There must be, there could be, no yielding at Verdun.

Why was this point, of all others, so important? Why was Verdun the key to the iron frontier? There were many reasons, but the chief were these: Unless Verdun were captured there could be no free communication between Germany and the German armies operating in France; with Verdun in French hands, the German fortress of Metz was in danger; unless Verdun were silenced, neither the German armies on the Aisne nor those on the Vosges could advance; while Verdun held, Germany's seizure of the vast coal and iron mines in Briey was on a perilous tenure. Ever since the days of Charlemagne, the name "Verdun" had been blazoned time and again on the pages of history. While Verdun held, France held. It took half a million French deaths to hold Verdun, yet should the dead know and should the dead speak, they would say that the defence was worth the sacrifice.

The defence of Verdun, therefore, was a story of which a part was written every day of the four long years of the war. Winter and summer the guns thundered. Never, for 24 successive hours, did the defenders of Verdun know a lull. It was in February, 1916, however, that the Germans launched an offensive against Verdun so complete in its preparations and so appalling in its magnitude that

the German general in command of the drive addressed his troops with the confident statement that "this was the last offensive." It seemed impossible that any human power could resist such an overwhelming attack as was designed.

The city of Verdun itself had little military significance.

FIG. 30. "THEY SHALL NOT PASS!"

The fortified area around Verdun showing Forts Douaumont, Thiaumont and Vaux, which changed hands so often, and the hill of Le Mort Homme, the greatest scene of carnage in all the war.

Its defensive powers lay in the belts of forts, the elaborate entrenchments, the subterranean roads, the artillery railways, the concentration of big guns and the emplacement of ordnance on every point of land which dominated a reach below. There was a triple line of defenses. The outermost began at Le Mort Homme (Dead Man's Hill), crossed the Meuse, ran along the hills to Haumont, Caures Forest, Beaumont, Pepper Steep, thence by the Ornes River to St. Mihiel. The second line ran through Forges, Haumont, Bezonvaux and Hermeville. The third line passed

through Champneuville, Douaumont, Vaux and Haudigmont.

A few minutes before dawn of February 21, 1916, a timed blast from hundreds of German heavy guns hurtled over the defenses of Verdun. It was as though a volcano had blown off its crater. It was followed by mass infantry attack, not at the least fortified section, but at the most strongly held points. There was an epic fury in the German attack, which even the French commanders classed as "sublime." Like all mass drives, its first blow was a brilliant military success. The northern fortifications were carried, and it culminated in the seizure of Fort Douaumont on February 25 and Champneuville next day. On March 6 the Germans took Forges and on March 11 entered Vaux.

The battle raged unceasingly, and though the French commander announced that Verdun was holding firm, height after height fell to the German Crown Prince's army. March 16 saw a most pitiful slaughter at Le Mort Homme, 80,000 lying dead from seven hours' fighting, but the French held firm. On March 21, Avocourt Woods were taken, Malancourt fell on March 30, Haucourt on April 6 and Bethincourt on April 9. From April 12 to April 19, every ounce of man-power and every available shell was hurled against Le Mort Homme. It was in vain. At a cost of life which was staggering to contemplate, the German waves rolled back. In four weeks the attackers had left 200,000 dead on the field, and neither the major position of the French, Hill 304, nor even its outermost spur, Le Mort Homme, had fallen into their hands. Men and munitions were exhausted. The first phase was passed.

For a brief month, there was a certain respite. This is

not to be taken to mean that there was not fierce fighting, but rather that the fighting changed from desperate mass attacks to the customary incessant hostilities of trench tactics.

On May 20, as a French captain worded it, "Verdun became a battle of madmen in the midst of a volcano." The French, meanwhile, had retaken much of the ground seized by the Germans, and the latter launched a new drive. Between May 20 and May 23, over 85,000 men were slain. The valley separating Le Mort Homme from Hill 287 was choked with bodies. One entire brigade was annihilated in sixteen minutes while charging against French machine guns. The heaviest cannonade that the world has ever seen before were like children's fireworks compared to the gun-fire of those four days. On May 23 the French took Fort Douaumont, on May 24 they lost it again. By the end of the month, gains and losses were equal, but on June 7, Fort Vaux surrendered to the Germans. During June Fort Thiaumont was lost and won twice. The heat of July and August saw no cessation. The field defences of Thiaumont changed hands seventeen times.

The terrific expenditure of munitions by Germany at Verdun and during the Battle of the Somme commenced to exhaust even the vast stores that had been accumulated. The Allied success on the Somme, also, could not be kept secret from the German troops before Verdun and their morale commenced to totter. Seeing this, Marshal Pétain at last allowed his eager troops to take the offensive. On October 24, the French launched a simultaneous attack on a four-mile line, capturing the fort and village of Douaumont. On November 2 the Germans evacuated Fort Vaux. Thus, in two swift strokes, one lasting five hours and the

other only three, the French regained what it had taken the Germans eight months and 600,000 men to gain. This was a cruel blow to the hopes of the German leaders who expected to take Verdun ultimately, and especially to the House of Hohenzollern. The Kaiser had wished the chief military glory of the war to fall to the heir of the German throne, the Crown Prince. Fate decreed otherwise, not only then but again in 1917 when substantially the same programme was repeated.

Again the German Crown Prince launched a drive in the spring, though with less success than the year before. Again he took Douaumont, and again, he fell back before Le Mort Homme. Again in the autumn, August this time, there was a French counter-offensive, and again, in a few days, all that the Germans had gained in several months were retaken.

By the close of 1917, every strategic point which France had held before the great drive of May, 1916, she held anew. Of the 120 square miles of territory over which the Crown Prince had once flaunted his success, a trifle less than 19 square miles was left him. And, from these, he was soon to be driven in ignominious flight. German power could not take Verdun, so long as French valor barred the way. "They shall not pass!" became not only the greatest battle-cry of the war, but also a triumphant prophecy.

XLI

THE GREATEST BATTLE IN THE WORLD

JUST as the defence of Verdun was the greatest defence in the world's history, holding back the hosts of Vandalism from ravaging the interior of France; so the Battle of the Somme in 1916 and the Battle of Arras in 1917, the two together lasting for over eighteen months of continuous fighting, was the greatest fight in history. In no other battle recorded on the world's pages were such huge armies opposed, never before did so many men die for their country, probably never before were the issues greater.

Enough has been written about trench warfare to show that any offensive, no matter how great, could have for its objective only one of two aims: either to break through the line, or to seize some central and dominating point of strategic importance. Thus, the German offensive at Ypres had been an effort to break through the Allied line, and the German hammering at Verdun had been an attempt to seize an all-important strategic point.

In view of the manner in which the German line was formed, it was known to be a practical impossibility to break through it, for, by the very nature of the battle-front, which made almost a right-angle turn near Compiègne, every blow against the German line reduced this angle and made it shorter to hold, just as every German offensive lengthened their line and weakened their defence

for a counter-offensive. Therefore, the Allied Offensive was directed less to breaking the German line than to the acquisition of an important strategic point. This point was Peronne. A second point aimed at, scarcely of less importance, was Bapaume. Between the two lies Combles.

Once more it is to be emphasized that modern war has become largely centred around important railway centres, not only because of the actual railroads themselves, but because railroads, in order to avoid difficult grades, follow natural geographical highways. To traverse mountains, railroads choose the passes; to bridge rivers, railroads select either narrow gorges where a high, short bridge may be flung across, or wide shallow places where piers may be erected in the bed of the river.

Peronne was the most important railway centre of the German front. Four railroads ran into it (not including strategic lines built by the Germans). It fed the armies north and south, by lines to Bapaume and Laon respectively; it was the main line through Belgium to Germany to the north-east and through Luxemburg to Germany, eastward. It was also the chief German supply depot between Verdun and the sea.

The great battle of the Somme was launched on July 1, 1916, directed at these three points, Bapaume, Combles and Peronne. It would only be confusing to the reader to give the several points that were taken and retaken. By the end of July, however, all the German first and second line trenches between Albert and Chaulnes had been taken, held and consolidated, Bapaume was only ten miles distant from the Allied lines, Combles only a mile and a half, Peronne only two miles and three-quarters.

The month of August saw a continuation of the great

battle, largely of artillery, for the Allies had been enabled to move forward their guns, to establish new munition depots, to build solid roads for the heavy motor trucks, to run telephone and telegraph lines, to dig new wells, and to make a complete system of trenches and underground roads over the captured territory. It was during August, moreover, that the Germans began using liquid fire in large quantities (notably against the French at La Maisonette, August 10), but they failed to drive back the French charge.

The same month, the British found themselves face to face with a terrific opposition at Thiepval, a high fortified point dominating the Ancre River and the railroad from Albert to Bapaume. The British stormed Mametz and Montauban, but were repulsed time after time in trying to take Thiepval. The French continued to hammer at Peronne, taking some of the outer defenses, but reaching no further.

September saw the advent of new engines of war. These were practically colossal armored automobiles on caterpillar tractors, belching flame and impervious to shrapnel or machine-gun fire. They were nicknamed "tanks." They crawled in an ungainly fashion up to the German trench lines, and over them. Hurricanes of shot left them unscathed. Barbed wire was treated as packthread. Flaming liquid rolled over them like water down the back of a water-bird.

First seen near the little village of Flers, on the dawn of September 15, during the next three days these squat monsters sent panic into the German Army north of Combles. By their aid, the great road between Peronne and Bapaume was crossed. By September 18, Combles was surrounded, and Thiepval was in utmost danger. The

French swung northward to aid the British and on September 25, the central point of Combles fell to Allied attacks and the great fortified point of Thiepval fell to the British on September 26. There the offensive halted to establish and consolidate. The "tanks" had won Combles for the Allies.

Early rains in October made the consolidation of the ground difficult and warned the Allied commanders of the dangers of the coming winter. Trench warfare had now become so complicated a matter that even several weeks was all too short a time to make permanent winter quarters underground. The ridge of Sailly-Saillisel, a most important point from the strategic point of view, was taken by the French on October 18. But winter was very near.

November was a month of minor actions. The British pushed closer to Bapaume, the French surrounded Chaulnes. Peronne was still distant two miles. In four months of continuous fighting against the three objectives, Bapaume, Combles and Peronne, Combles had been taken, the strategic points that had barred the way to Bapaume had been taken, and the lines on either side of Peronne were being pushed back so that the great central point was in an exposed salient. Already its military value had been greatly lessened by the straddling of the main railroad line to Bapaume.

The winter of 1916–1917 was marked by a German offer of peace. The Central Powers claimed victory by pointing to the war map of Europe. They had some reason for their claims. Nearly all of Belgium was in their hands, part of northern France, all of Serbia, most of Roumania.

The Allies refused to consider Germany's proposals, and, in answer to the military argument pointed to the world

First type, British heavy tank.

Latest type, British whippet.

Photos from Brown Bros.

Late type British heavy, advancing into action near Lens. Note shell bursting in the rear.

Late type French combat tank advancing into action through a wood. This was the speediest type of the heavy tanks.

PRINCIPAL TYPES OF BRITISH AND FRENCH "TANKS."

map of the war. All the German colonies were lost or on the point of being so, Germany's fleet had run to hiding, every German naval base was lost to her, and the successes of General Maude in Mesopotamia were beginning to bear fruit. Moreover, the Allies declared that this war was an aggressive war on the part of Germany and that in this regard she had been definitely stopped. The reply on the part of the Allies showed that they were confident of final victory.

In January, 1917, the weather turned cold, the ground being hard enough for the use of tanks. The British, therefore, having gained Thiepval in the autumn before, continued to creep toward Bapaume, trench by trench. By these measures they forced the Germans out of Grandcourt, and themselves advanced along the Ancre, taking first one bank and then the other.

February saw the continuance of these tactics, but on a more vigorous scale. Between February 1 and February 4 the British launched six attacks, one after the other. These were made with small numbers of infantry but heavy artillery. The result of these reconnoissances in force showed that if the Germans were to hold Bapaume, it would be at terrific cost of life. The British had gained the main strategic points covering that base, whence their artillery could do terrible damage.

Simultaneously with these attacks came the breaking of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, the fact which ultimately — though not immediately — enabled the Allies to win the war. The diplomatic effect of this began to permeate all the belligerent nations; the military effect, however, not appearing to any extent until a year later.

In March it began to be evident that the Germans would be compelled to admit defeat in the Battle of the Somme. The late autumn had seen Bapaume and Peronne threatened and Combles taken. On March 17, 1917, Bapaume fell into the hands of the British, and on the same day, Roye and Lassigny were taken by the French. Peronne was abandoned by the Germans next day. This, in a measure, closed the second phase of the Battle of the Somme, with the three objectives, Bapaume, Combles and Peronne, as well as Noyon, all in Allied hands.

The Battle of Arras may be considered as the third phase of the Battle of the Somme, for, in all essentials, it consisted in driving the Germans back from the positions formerly held, and forcing them to continue the retreat. It might be considered as an offensive against the three next most important railroad points: Lens, Cambrai and St. Quentin. The ground between the Bapaume-Peronne line and the new German line was submitted to an orgy of destruction.

The amazing part of this April fighting was the rapidity of the French pursuit. The Germans could not understand how French engineers could build destroyed bridges so rapidly, nor how the artillery could keep pace with the swiftly advancing infantry. Although the retreat was called a "strategic retreat," the French were so close on the heels of the Germans that the latter had to flee. The proof of this lies in the fact that within ten days of the capture of Peronne, all the defensive positions on the south, west and north of St. Quentin had been taken.

The full driving force of the British radiated from Arras, the next point north from Bapaume. The offensive

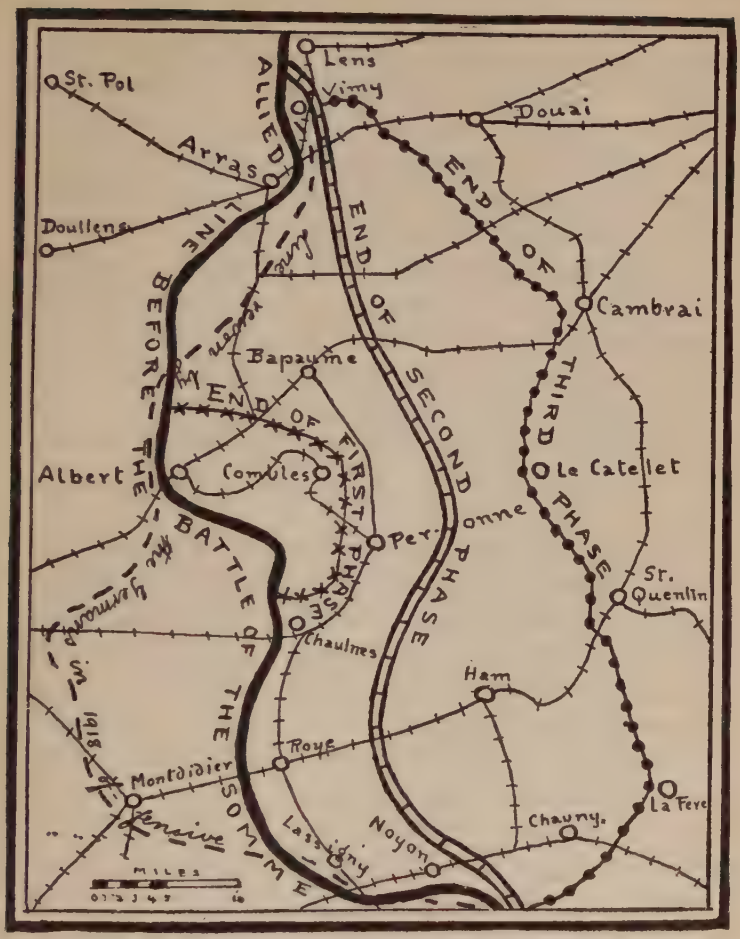


FIG. 31. THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME

Battlefield in Picardy showing line from which the Allies started their drive, the end of the first, second and third phases and the territory recaptured in this section in the final German offensive of 1918.

in this sector was launched on April 9, 1917. One point above all others seemed impregnable, and on this one point

the success of the attack depended. This was Vimy Ridge. It was taken by the Canadians in a thrust which was described as "equalling in gallantry the most splendid feat in military history." By April 13, the British were astride of the Hindenburg line, and thence the battle raged with undiminished fury night and day, infantry attacks continuing without regard to light or darkness.

Shortly before 5 o'clock in the morning, the trenches in the suburbs of Lens were forced with the bayonet. A swift German counter-thrust drove the British back. Lens thus became a second Verdun, the defence lying in German hands. It was there that the "pill-box," or concrete and steel semi-underground fort became a part of the ever-changing trench warfare, coming to be known as "elastic defense."

British stubbornness and French valor, however, failed alike to achieve the desired result of the third phase of the Battle of the Somme. The offensive reached as far as Lens, Cambrai and St. Quentin. It never took them. Not only did that offensive fail in its objects, but every inch of ground thus gained was afterwards lost. The Hindenburg line, indeed, had been straddled, but it was an idle boast that it had been broken.

On the contrary, it formed a solid background from which the Germans struck in their tremendous counter-offensive of the following year. Even as late as November, 1917, the British attacked again at Cambrai, but though important gains were made, the city was not taken. A week later, a German counter-attack resulted in a notable British defeat, almost a disaster.

The Battle of the Somme, in its three phases, had occupied seventeen months. It had gained for the Allies

the first group of objectives, it had failed to win the second group. As a military movement it was a failure, for the gains secured proved untenable.

"Is it not probable," suggested the Diplomat, "that Russia's disintegration had a great deal to do with the failure of the Allies in the Third Phase, the Battle of Arras?"

"Undoubtedly," the Military Expert replied. "If it had not been for the Russian Revolution, which released to Germany 2,000,000 more men for use on the Western front, Hindenburg could never have held Lens and St. Quentin.

"On the other hand, while a lull in the fighting hampered Germany, by reason of the blockade, it helped the Allies. The United States had entered the war, but it was evident that, for a year at least, her assistance would possess little military value. The longer the Allies waited, the stronger they became; the longer Germany waited, the weaker she became. For that reason, the summer of 1917 saw a waiting policy on the western front. Next year was to decide all."

XLII

THE SECOND BETRAYAL OF RUSSIA

RACIAL relationships have always been one of the main factors in international affairs — declared the Diplomat — and during the World War the Slav peoples were generally pro-Ally and the Tartar peoples pro-German. The Russian people were twice betrayed during the war, once by the Czar and his court, influenced by Germany; the second time by the Bolsheviki, paid in cash by Germany. Both these parties, moreover, acted with the Great Russians against the Little Russians or Ukrainians, although the latter were the most able. Add to these conditions the fact that the Russian peasantry was at the same time the most illiterate and yet the most democratic [1] in Europe, and much of the apparently incomprehensible see-saw of Russian military affairs is explained.

When it became definitely known that the German successes on the eastern front were due to private arrangement between the Kaiser and the Czar, when Grand Duke Nicholas had been banished and General Brussilov censured, the Allies realized at last that little help was to be expected from the Russian armies.

[1] The whole Zemstvo system was elective. Every village, town, district and province had its democratic form of government, with its own tax officials and its own courts, entirely separate from the imperial system. Russia was unique in this. She was, at the same time, the most autocratic and the most democratic of countries.

The elimination of Russia as an ally became even more evident when the dark figure of "Rasputin" appeared on the scene. This man was a monk of the Orthodox Greek Church, of Russian peasant origin, by name, Gregor Novikh. The nickname "Rasputin"— which means "a person of low morals"— was given him because of the lurid scandals by which his life was surrounded.

He possessed extraordinary hypnotic powers. The Czarina was a sufferer from hysteria, and the heir to the throne was an epileptic. By hypnosis, Rasputin was able to quiet both his royal patients during their crises of sickness. Thus he became the power of the Russian court. An ambitious and greedy man, he readily became Germany's tool. His "prophecies" though supposedly the result of angel messages given during a saintly trance, were, in reality, messages from Berlin.

The secret of Rasputin's power lay in the fact that, being a peasant, he understood the peasantry better than anyone else in the Court circle. He knew that if the moujiks should realize they were being betrayed, Czardom would not last a day. As a man of the people he was aware that the zemstvo system of municipal and district organization, a true democratic system, was more potent than the forces of the Emperor. As a monk, he was not blind to the fact that the intelligent classes were hostile to the union of Church and State.[1]

Accordingly he succeeded in placing Sturmer, a German, as premier of Russia. Sturmer at once forbade the meeting of all the democratic societies. All pro-Russians were

[1] Every since 1905 the "intelligentsia" party had become more and more Jewish and commercial in its membership, and less confined to the hereditary nobles.

dismissed from government posts, pro-Russian officers were degraded in the army. When the Duma, the Russian parliament, met in November, 1916 and denounced Sturmer as a traitor, Rasputin was strong enough to put an equally strong pro-German in Sturmer's place. Protopopoff, Minister of the Interior and Rasputin's tool, organized a vast army of machine-gun companies in the ranks of the secret police.

On December 30, 1916, Rasputin was assassinated by three nobles. All Russia openly rejoiced. The court mourned. The Czar and Protopopoff were among the pall-bearers at the funeral. This was most ill-advised, for it inflamed the people as no imperial edict could have done.

By March, 1917, the pro-German leaders announced that they had discovered a revolutionary plot. They ordered the army to eject the parliament and to fire on the crowds. They reckoned without the feeling of the peasantry. Protopopoff was not Rasputin. The army joined the people. The president of the Duma warned the Czar if he delayed as much as one day in revoking the reactionary orders, the delay would mean the end of the dynasty. The people were in open revolt. The Czar refused.

On March 12, Sturmer was arrested; on the 13th, Protopopoff gave himself up, on the 14th the Revolution was declared accomplished; on the 15th, the Czar was forced to abdicate. Czardom was no more. Never was such a drastic and astounding overturn carried out so quietly.

A new Russian government was formed the same day with Prince Lvoff, former head of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos, as president, and Kerensky, a Socialist, as Minister of Justice. On March 22, the United States rec-

ognized the new government of Russia, and, next day, Great Britain, France and Italy did the same. The world rejoiced over Free Russia. It is to be remembered that Lvoff was an advocate of a constitutional monarchy, was himself a noble, and was known to be a bitter enemy of anarchy and disorder.

The third phase of the Battle of the Somme, better known as the Battle of Arras, began shortly after this overturn. The Allies felt that, at last, they might count on a sincere friendship in Russia, even though it were unlikely that a country still in the throes of revolution could render much military assistance.

Internal troubles began at once. The Duma, or parliament, urged the immediate resumption of the war. The Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies, an ultra-socialist organization flying the red flag, urged a congress for peace. The Duma announced its intention of establishing a constitutional monarchy — the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies demanded a radical republic.

The Council split into two parties, the most extreme becoming known as the Bolsheviki. On July 17, 1917, the Bolsheviki seized Petrograd, defying both the Duma and the Council.

There followed three days of massacre, in which both wings of the Council attacked the existing régime and each other indiscriminately. On July 20, Prince Lvoff retired from the office of Provisional President and Kerensky, a socialist rather than a Bolshevist, took his place. Kerensky ordered the arrest of Lenine, the leader of the Bolsheviki. The order was not carried out. An attempt was made to unite the Council factions by a Congress, at Moscow, August 27–31, but this only split the parties wider apart.

On September 3, General Korniloff, commander-in-chief, rose against Kerensky, who promptly dismissed him next day. The army supported Korniloff. This brought a new crisis, in which Kerensky won, and a Republic was proclaimed with Kerensky as president.

The first parliament of the Republic met October 8, 1914. The Bolsheviki bolted. On November 7 the Bolsheviki overthrew the parliament by force of arms and ordered Kerensky arrested. The Constituent Assembly summoned under Bolsheviki orders opened on January 18, 1918, but the members could not agree among themselves, and still less could they be reconciled to the extremist views of the Bolsehvist leaders. The Assembly endured only one day, being dispersed by Bolshevist bayonets.

For some time, the Bolsheviki had been planning a separate peace with Germany. This began on November 20, 1918, when the Lenine-Trotzky group announced its willingness to make a "democratic peace." General Dukhonin, the Commander-in-Chief, was ordered to offer an armistice. He refused. Next day he was deposed and Krylenko, a mere ensign, was given the supreme command. Krylenko arranged for parleys.

The armistice conference with the Germans began on December 2. On December 16, a four weeks' armistice was signed. On December 17, the Bolsheviki announced the confiscation of all lands and monies belonging to the Church. On February 9, 1918, the Ukraine (Little Russian) Republic signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers. The Bolshevist Russian government withdrew from the war on February 10, 1919, having, two days before, repudiated all Russia's debts. From that time on, Russian Bolshevism became more and more under Ger-

man control, until, at last, it was arrayed in definite hostility against the Allies.

During the Brest-Litovsk debates it had become clear that Lenine and Trotzky were definitely selling Russia to Germany. Lenine was a fanatic, believing that Internationalism must be willing to reach its end by any path, no matter how foul. Trotzky was of baser metal, a self-seeking traitor. Investigation by the United States Department of State resulted in the discovery of documents which proved that the Bolshevist movement was financed by the German Imperial Bank, that the officer in command at Petrograd had been named by the Germans, and that the military advisers of the Bolshevist government were sent from Berlin. The official American report stated: "The present Bolshevist Government is not a Russian government at all, but a German government, acting solely in the interests of Germany, and betraying the Russian people for the benefit of the Imperial German government alone."

The military situation, during all this period of civil turmoil, had been equally confused. Under Lvoff, the reorganization of the army proceeded slowly, but under Kerensky, during July and August, 1917 the Russians launched a new offensive, both in the north and near Lemberg.

These blows were extraordinarily successful, not because of the military effectiveness of the Russian Army, but by reason of surprise. Germany was not expecting a genuine attack. Large gains of territory were made and 100,000 prisoners secured. The apparent return of Russia as a belligerent had no appreciable effect on the war as a whole, however, for Germany knew that she held the key to further revolution by treachery. All that the offensive

accomplished was to warn Germany that she must work more rapidly in the disintegration of Russia. When Kerensky was thrust out of office, the military menace disappeared.

The Bolsheviki promptly ordered the extraordinary measures of the election of officers by the soldiers, whether the former had received training or not. Officers not elected were degraded to privates. Colonels were forced to clean stables, while their former orderlies became Generals. Discipline was abolished. Abuse ran riot. History had never seen a parallel disorder. Mob madness had never witnessed a more bloody folly.

From the beginning of 1918 to the end of the war, the Allies had no other recourse than to regard the Bolshevist government as an ally of Germany, while, at the same time, Lenine was officially still at war with Germany.

At the same time, the anti-Bolshevist movements in Russia, while often pro-Ally, were not always so. The Ukraine Republic soon developed hostility to Poland, by this time one of the Allied Powers, and at the same time became an enemy of Roumania, remaining the while at war with the Bolsheviki. Finland refused to aid the Archangel movement. The Cossacks were at odds with Siberia.

The crimes and follies of 1918 in Russia were not to be ascribed to the great mass of the Russian people, but to the anarchist group which seized the reins of power, betrayed their country to a German paymaster and held their authority by a terrorization more radical and more sanguinary than had been witnessed in the worst period of the Middle Ages. That such a condition could arise was the result of a treacherous imperial court. Had the Czar been

indeed the "Little Father" of his people, had he derived his powers from the just consent of the government, such a revolution could never have come to pass. Tyranny bred revolt and a mad fanaticism seized the torch.

XLIII

TREACHERY AND HEROISM IN ITALY

WELL satisfied with her success in destroying Russia, Germany undertook the same tactics in Italy. Just as the Bolshevist group in Russia had been the soil into which Germany dropped the seeds of traitordom, so the Camorrist group in Italy served the same purpose. Both were alike in some important respects. They advocated internationalism instead of nationalism, they upheld the laboring class, and they attacked organized governments. By the close of the World War, the word Bolshevism had come to have a more general meaning. Any attack on organized government in the interests of the labor class to the injury of all other classes had become known as "Bolshevism."

The first opening which the Italian military leaders gave to the entrance of traitorous doctrines lay in fraternization. North of Goritzia lay the quiet sector of Tolmino. There the Italian troops had remained unchanged and unrelieved for many months. The German and Austrian governments, observing this, sent secret agents, as soldiers, into the Austrian ranks, to disseminate the literature of internationalism. The Camorrists, while not precisely working with Germany, sent Camorrist agents into the Italian ranks to spread the same doctrines.

This treachery came to a crisis in the beginning of Oc-

tober, 1917, when the Italian troops received, as part of their daily mail, copies of newspapers from Naples and Genoa, announcing that serious riots had broken out in those cities, asserting that British troops had been brought to Italy to restore order and were firing on women and children in the streets with machine-guns. The news would have justified the Italians in raising disturbance, but — the papers were forgeries. They were cleverly printed copies of Italian newspapers, type, language, style, everything being imitated. The Camorrists fanned the flames and the army rose to a point of disaffection that almost amounted to mutiny.

On October 18–20, 1917, the Austrian troops, which had been fraternizing with the Italians, were suddenly removed, and German shock troops were sent to take their places. On October 21, a terrific bombardment of the Italian lines began, utterly confusing the Second Italian Army. On October 24, the Germans charged, and the demoralized and half-mutinous Second Italian Army gave way absolutely. Many regiments threw down their arms, expecting to find themselves cordially greeted by Austrian brother-internationalists and were put to death, weaponless. The Italian line was not only broken, but pierced clear through.

The gallant Third Italian Army, which had won the great victory of Goritzia, found itself flanked and almost taken in the rear. On October 27 it was compelled to retreat. On October 28 the Germans took Goritzia. Udine, the Italian Army General Headquarters, fell into Austrian hands on October 30. The armies of the north, finding themselves almost cut off, were compelled to abandon the passes that they had held with such amazing gallantry for two years and a half.

On November 1 the copies — the true copies — of the Naples and Genoa papers came into the hands of the army, and the soldiers saw how they had been tricked. They tried to re-form and hold the Tagliamento River, but the German-Austrian drive had gained momentum, and, besides, the Italians had lost 250,000 prisoners in eight days. Over 2,000 guns had been lost, including most of the heavy artillery of the Second Army. Furthermore, all the strong strategic points gained by the Third Army had been compulsorily abandoned by reason of the defection of the troops before Tolmino.

However much Germany's treacherous plotting may be open to criticism, her military movements were brilliant. She launched simultaneously three drives, with Venice as the objective. One was a repetition of the drive down from the Trentino towards Asiago, the second was down the Cadore River towards Belluno, the third was directly across the Piave. Asiago fell November 10. Belluno was captured November 11. But on the Piave, the invaders were held.

British and French troops were rushed into Italy. The lower reaches of the Piave were deliberately flooded, and the fighting became similar to that before Ypres during the early years of the war. The Austrian-German armies were almost four to one in numbers, nine to one in artillery. Besides, they had the impulse of victory behind them. But Italian valor took the place of organization, and while General Diaz was forging the repentant army into shape, individual Italian soldiers were defending the Piave with all the heroism of the Belgians at Liége, the British on the Yser or the French at Verdun.

Nineteen miles from Venice, the Austrians halted. They attacked again and again, but came no nearer. From De-

cember, 1917, onwards, day by day, they were driven back, back, to their frontier. If the Italians had fought well before — but for that one army decoyed to faithlessness — they fought better now. Everything was against them, but they won steadily.

It took until July, 1918, to drive the last Austrian the other side of the Piave. By August and September, the Austrians were climbing back to the mountains for protection. The avenging fury of Italy was at their heels.

Then came the great day of revenge. On October 24, 1918, a terrific offensive was launched all along the line. There were fifty-seven Allied divisions, against sixty-three Austro-German divisions. The Allies thus had approximately 1,110,000 men. Aside from the fifty-one Italian divisions, the British sent three divisions, the French two divisions, the Czecho-Slovaks one division, and the Americans one regiment.

The offensive had a power that could not be stopped. On the first day, 3,000 prisoners were taken, on the second 10,000, on the third 30,000. On October 3, 1918, the Austrian lines were cut in two and the retreat became a rout. On November 3, Trent, the city of the Trentino which had defied the Italian armies so long, fell into their hands; and, on the same day, Trieste, the goal for which all the Isonzo battles had been waged, saw the entrance of Italy's victorious armies. That same day the armistice was signed. Austria surrendered, defeated, and was out of the war.

XLIV

AFRICA FREE FROM THE HUN

WHEN the war opened, Germany had four colonies in Africa, with a combined territory three times as large as Germany and with a population of approximately 12,000,000. All had been recently acquired, but were of great importance to Germany as the basis of her long-wished colonial empire. These four were Togoland, Kamerun or the Cameroons, German Southwest Africa and German East Africa.

Few words need be spent with regard to the campaign for Togoland, a country a little larger than Ireland, with 1,000,000 or more population, lying between the British colony of the Gold Coast and the French colony of Dahomey. On August 8, 1914, a British cruiser appeared off the port of Lome, capital of Togoland, and cleared for action. Not a shot was fired. Lome surrendered incontinently.

The main German wireless station was at Kamina, near Atakpame, on high ground a hundred miles inland. The German garrison retired there, anticipating that the natives would take up arms against the invaders and make their inland progress difficult. On the contrary, the natives hailed the Allies as friends and gave them all the aid possible.

A French force entered Togoland from the east, a British from the west, on August 8 and 9 respectively. The Allied forces joined and marched north to the enemy's intrench-

ments. The battle was hardly more than formal. Kamina wireless station surrendered on August 25, Atakpame on August 26. One German African colony was gone.

As has so often happened in England's wars, the campaign in Kamerun began with failure. It has been a historic fault of Britain to attempt an important conquest with an army too small for the purpose. The disaster of Kut-el-Amara may serve as one example of this error, the first invasion of Kamerun was another.

On August 8, 1914, a British detachment of white and native troops left Kano, in Nigeria, and, after seventeen days' march, reached the Kamerun frontier. A slight skirmish occurred at Tepe and the Germans retreated to the fortified plateau of Garua. The British pursued and attacked on August 31. They were swiftly and decisively defeated, 21 out of 31 officers being shot dead in their tracks by an unexpected and concentrated machine-gun fire. The rest fled.

A second invading party, operating near Nsanakong, also was summarily put to flight. German resistance was far better organized than the British had expected. Not only that, but the Germans retaliated by a successful raid into the British colony of Nigeria.

The naval forces then took up the work, and Duala, the capital of Kamerun, was compelled to surrender under threat of bombardment by naval big guns. The new capital, Buea, fell in November, and the main railway line of the colony was captured by the British in December. The Germans then concentrated their forces at Garua, which was solidly intrenched.

In January, 1915, a French column, from its colony of Equatorial Africa, managed to make its way to Garua,

across jungle of the most extreme difficulty for transport, and was joined by a small British force. The plateau was invested and a five months' siege began. In April, two more batteries of British artillery arrived and, on June 10, Kamerun — its name changed to Cameroon by its new

FIG. 32. COLONIES AND RAILROADS OF AFRICA
Showing European possessions before the war and railroads complete and running when the war closed.

masters — was divided between England and France, the British yielding the larger and richer share to France, although the military operations had been borne by both in equal numbers. The area received by France was bigger than the whole territory of France itself, and a country of considerable fertility.

The campaign in German Southwest Africa, in one regard, was one of the most extraordinary in history. It was won for England by England's former enemies, the Boers. Moreover, a rebellion which Germany had fomented in British South Africa, among the Boers, was put down by the burghers themselves.

The rebellion broke out, truly, according to the plans of the German secret agents, but it did not receive the support of the Boer leaders. Instead, the very generals who, a few years before, had led the Transvaal armies against Great Britain, now appeared as British generals leading British troops against the Germans. General Botha, a Boer, was Premier of the Union of South Africa, a British colony. He was as able a statesman as he was a soldier.

The revolt broke into open flame on September 15, 1914. The principal leaders were a "prophet," Niklaas van Rensburg, and two military men, General Beyers and Colonel Maritz. The prophecies failed to come true, but a curious series of coincidences gave them color. On September 26, a small force of British and Transvaal forces combined was decoyed into an ambush and defeated. General Smuts, also a Boer, and Minister of Defense for the Union of South Africa, ordered Maritz to give up his command. Maritz not only refused, but declared that he had already ceded a British naval base contiguous to German Southwest Africa (Whale Bay) to Germany. Botha proclaimed martial law on October 12.

Into this confusion of loyal and disloyal factions entered the famous Boer guerrilla leader, General de Wet. He had been a political rival of Botha, and personal reasons were largely responsible for his joining the party of rebellion. He had a considerable following. By November 5 about

10,000 men were under arms, following Maritz, Beyers or de Wet.

Botha and Smuts put 40,000 men into the field, but they wisely refrained from compelling the Boer regiments in the army to fire on their kinsmen. Using only the 12,000 British forces in all the advance movements, and keeping his Boer forces as reserves, Botha defeated de Wet, who was captured on December 1. Beyers was shot while trying to escape by swimming a river. On January 24, 1915, Maritz made a sally, but was decisively defeated. He fled and was captured on German territory, later. On February 3, the "prophet" surrendered, and the rebellion in South Africa was over.

With the colony thus restored to loyalty, Botha and Smuts commenced the conquest of German Southwest Africa. A third Boer force was mobilized early in the spring of 1915 and an all-British force arrived in March to aid in the campaign. The four armies struck inland at the same time, the transport conditions, in every case, being left under the general direction of Botha.

On April 17, 1915, the two smaller Boer armies cleared the Nababas Railroad, effecting a junction with the British, eight days later. The three armies, operating together, united, on May 5, with the main force under Botha. On May 10, Windhoek, the capital, surrendered, and British-Boer forces occupied the city on the 12th. The small German garrison fled from place to place in the bush, finally surrendering July 9, 1915. There was little actual fighting. Botha managed the campaign in such wise that the Germans were always faced by a force so superior in numbers that they did not dare to give battle. The success of the conquest was mainly due to the excellence of the transport. A

remnant of the Germans took sanctuary in Rio Muni, a small Spanish post.

The conquest of German East Africa was a different story. It was a long and very difficult campaign. The Germans did not wait to be attacked. They crossed into the Belgian Congo, attacked several minor posts in Rhodesia and invaded the British East African frontier. During the fall of 1914, the Allies and the Germans had forces of equal size, mainly native troops. The first skirmishes resulted in German minor defeats, but an expeditionary force from India, which landed on November 1 and attacked the port of Tanga, met with a disastrous repulse. In January, 1915, a second Kut-el-Amara on a small scale occurred when the British at Jasin were compelled to surrender, after several efforts at relief had failed.

The summer of 1915 brought into sharp relief the fact that Germany had drilled and equipped a first-class native army in German East Africa. All the efforts of the Allies went to nought. Indeed, it was with difficulty that the British kept the Germans from cutting the main railway line into the old slave port of Mombasa, in British East Africa.

In the fall of 1915 it was decided to ask the help of the Boers, and strong re-enforcements were sent from all sides by the Allies. General Smith-Dorrien resigned and Smuts assumed command. There were two immediate results. One was the transformation of the whole transport system, the other was a change in the plan of strategy. Smuts was undoubtedly one of the best strategists in the World War. Also, he did not fail to take full advantage of the help of Portuguese troops from Portuguese East Africa to the south, and Belgian troops from the Belgian Congo to the west. He understood African campaigning thoroughly.

From five different sides, the campaign well co-ordinated, Smuts directed the invasion. The primary object was the capture of the Usumbara Railroad, running south from Mt. Kilimanjaro. Two months of steady and hard fighting across the Masai steppe, in which the Boers fought like heroes, brought the three-day battle of May 9–11, 1916, in which the Germans were definitely defeated. The Germans still held the line doggedly but Smuts would allow no pause. Moving slowly, but with crushing sureness, he took Dodoma on July 29 and Mpwapwa a few days later. Dar-es-Salaam, the ocean terminus of the railroad, had come under the guns of the British fleet.

On August 26, 1916, the seat of the German Provisional Government, at Mrogoro, fell into the hands of the Boer-British-Belgian-Portuguese army and the few remaining German officials fled to the "Hunger Country," where they lived as hunters and outlaws to the end of the war. Dar-es-Salaam was captured from the land side on September 4.

A year was to elapse, however, before it could definitely be said that German East Africa was won. Actually, German East Africa ceased to exist in September, 1916, but, as long as there was a vestige of German power unyielded or a piece of territory uncaptured, it could not officially be so proclaimed. On December 3, 1917, the official announcement was made that "German East Africa is completely cleared of the enemy." The few Germans who remained had fled into Portuguese territory.

The British rejoiced too soon, however. In September, 1916, General von Lettow-Vorbeck doubled back into German East Africa, and set off into the bush, the Allies close on his heels. Cut off on two sides, the German commander twisted about and reached the British colony of Rhodesia.

where, on November 2, he attacked Fife, but was repulsed. The Allies overtook the Germans at Kayambi on November 6, but the defeated made good their escape and were still at large when the hostilities of the World War came to an end. An honorable surrender was arranged on November 25, 1918. Thus ended the longest and most wearing campaign that the world has ever seen waged by civilized troops in a tropical country.

XLV

THE LAST CRUSADE

THIS same winter of 1917 — said the Military Expert — which had been marked by the great though not complete success of the Battles of the Somme, which had seen the great Austro-German drive in Italy checked at the Piave River, which had witnessed the German flag hauled down from its last stronghold in Africa, was to know an even more spectacular campaign, the British advance upon Jerusalem.

It is not to be forgotten that a waterless desert forms an even greater natural military barrier than a lofty range of mountains. In the three attacks that had been made on the Suez Canal, the Turko-German forces had found it impossible to send more than 50,000 men across the absolutely arid stretch between the south of Palestine and the delta of the Nile. The limit of transport was at that point of numbers. The Suez Canal was found impregnable by land attack, because 50,000 men were altogether insufficient to storm the defenses, even with siege artillery, and the latter could not be hauled where there were no roads and no water.

For the same reason, a strong German-Turkish defense line, south of Palestine, ought to be equally impregnable from Suez. Upon the failure of her third Egyptian expedition, therefore, Germany constructed a powerful line of fortifications between Gaza and Beersheba, using the chain

of wells that had been built by the Philistines and by the Children of Israel during Old Testament times.[1] This line they intrenched, constructed a crushed-stone highway for motor transport behind it, and ran a continuation of the Jerusalem-Aleppo railroad to Gaza and to a point near Beersheba. Their guns controlled both the coast land and the interior plateau, the battle-fields of ancient Jewish history. Their artillery also covered all the wells and thus all the water, for that country possesses no flowing rivers.

The task that faced the British forces was threefold. First, water had to be brought in sufficient quantities across the desert for the use of a large army; second, a road had to be constructed across the desert on which troops could march and artillery be hauled heavy enough to attack intrenched defenses; third, the attacking army had to fight uphill from an absolutely flat plain, exposed to shell and machine-gun fire the whole way.

The command was given to General Allenby, a cavalry leader who had made a brilliant record in the war. He treated the matter as a cavalry and camelry campaign, almost the entire force of the Imperial Camel Corps being placed at his disposal.

General Allenby attacked the water problem in two ways. First, with infinite labor, he constructed a pipe line running across the desert and indirectly tapping the sweet-water canal that runs beside the Suez Canal. Second, having read his Old Testament to profit, he re-located and dug anew the desert wells that had once been dug by the Jewish patriarchs during their wars with the Philistines. Furthermore, by modern scientific methods, he traced the subterranean

[1] For details of this, the reader is referred to "The Wonder of War in the Holy Land," by the same author.

sources of these wells, and erected pumping stations at various points. Thus he found water for his troops on the march, and water for an advanced base not far from the German lines.

The question of a road was solved with equal ingenuity. Upon the desert sands a huge woven wire carpet was spread. The principle was that of snowshoes. This sank into the sand a little distance, but not far, forming a solid but sandy road on which the troops could march. An artillery road also was constructed, much more circuitous, which followed the beds of several dry streams, or wadys, but which crossed intervening stretches of loose sand with the same steel netting, only several layers deep. The artillery was hauled by air-cooled motor tractors, which also hauled their own supplies of gasoline. This obviated the necessity of water supply for artillery haulage by mules or horses.

The difficulty of the up-hill fight on the plain was solved by the character of tactics employed. Instead of costly frontal attack of infantry, enveloping cavalry tactics were employed, together with a mounted infantry system attached to the flanking parties.

The main attack opened on October 27, 1917, when British and French battleships, lying out to sea, bombarded the port of Gaza with long range naval guns. This had been expected by the Germans and they retired to prepared defenses on the heights.

Then, with what proved to be masterly handling, as soon as dusk fell on October 30, cavalry, camelry and mounted infantry made long and swift night marches out and beyond the eastern end of the line at Beersheba. Here the mountains were so steep and water was so distant that the Turko-German garrisons had not believed direct attack possible.

FIG. 33. THE CAMPAIGNS IN PALESTINE

Showing the desert area lying between the German-Turk lines and the Suez Canal, which the British crossed by constructing a pipe-line for water. Note also the relation of Palestine to Damascus, Aleppo and the Bagdad railway.

But, at daylight, four attacks were simultaneously launched. They were a complete surprise. London troops, accompanied by Indian regiments from the hills, climbed the steeps in the face of heavy Turkish gun-fire and took the advanced works of Beersheba after two hours' fighting. The battle proceeded all day, re-enforcements pouring in to the British from the flanking parties and in the early evening, the Australian Light Horse charged the remaining trenches and entered the city. The important point of Beersheba — with its wells — was in British hands and the right flank of the enemy was turned.

Infantry attack was launched at Gaza on November 2, to prevent the Germans and Turks from concentrating a counter-offensive. Aided by naval gun-fire, which was regulated with extraordinary exactitude by air-craft spotting, the defences of Gaza were made too hot to hold. They fell on November 7. On the same day the centre of the German line, at Tel-el-Sheria, was taken, this giving to the Allies control of the main railroad to Junction Station, where a branch line runs to Jerusalem. Hebron, half-way between Beersheba and Jerusalem, was taken November 10, Junction Station was seized November 14 and the port of Joppa two days later. This cut the Turko-German army in two, and destroyed the line of communications for both.

Jerusalem was thus open to bombardment, but General Allenby was anxious that there should be no fighting in the Holy City. Neither would he allow his troops to enter into or approach any village or site sacred either to the Christian, Jewish or Mohammedan religions. This consideration caused delay, and greatly aided the Turks, who, on November 21, rallied and inflicted a sharp but indecisive defeat on the British. Owing to the handling of the British, Arab

and Indian cavalry, however, the enemy dared not follow up his advantage, and three days later Allenby secured a heavy punishing blow. The Turks retreated in confusion.

The transport system had achieved wonders, but the British advance, moving from below Beersheba to Jerusalem in less than a month, had drained its resources to the utmost extent. The British halted for two weeks to consolidate all positions taken and to organize a new line of communication by the railroad.

The advance on Jerusalem was scheduled for December 7, but a three days' rain made the roads difficult for artillery and impossible for camels. Although eager to advance, Allenby knew the value of absolute co-ordination and waited until December 10, to throw out both cavalry and infantry to close all the roads leading into Jerusalem. Some scattering rifle shots were fired from the city itself, but every officer in the British Army had the most absolute and rigid orders not to allow a single shot to be fired in reply.

On December 11, General Allenby, the victor of the last Crusade, together with Allied officers, entered Jerusalem. There should be no British profanation of the Holy City, as there had been Teuton profanation on the occasion of the Kaiser's visit, some years before. The conqueror of the Cross over the Crescent entered the city on foot, and left it on foot. He would allow no ceremonies. This only — the reading of a proclamation stating that the Allies would be responsible for the maintenance of order in all the holy places of the three great religions of the world, Christianity, Judaism and Mohammedanism. Jerusalem was free.

But the Turks did not yet admit absolute defeat. Mistaking General Allenby's courtesy for weakness, the German-Turkish forces suddenly drove at Jerusalem from

three sides. Again the British general would allow no fighting near the sacred city, and, though intrenching would have been the wisest strategy, he adopted bold tactics and hurled forward the full force of his army against the attackers. The cavalry, which, throughout, had been greatly aided by the Arabs, performed feats of incredible endurance. The German-Turk army broke and scattered. The pursuing British infantry drove on relentlessly, crossing the pestilential Jordan Valley with a vigor recalling the Crossing of the Aisne. The Turks were smashed utterly and driven clear back to Jericho, which fell February 21, 1918. From thence, advanced positions were taken on the way to Aleppo and consolidated before the approach of the summer, when the heat would make military operations impossible.

The capture of Aleppo and Damascus would mean the extinction of Turkey in Asia, and when cooler weather came, in September, Allenby renewed his advance. With the Hedjaz Arabs as allies, he opened a terrific drive on September 19, 1918, breaking the Turko-German front along a line of sixteen miles. A sweeping cavalry dash annihilated the western Turkish army on September 22, and Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, was occupied on September 26. The city of the Caliphs, Damascus, was now near at hand and the Turks were unable to save the doom that approached hourly. On October 1, 1918, Damascus fell into Allied hands.

The fate of Turkey was now swiftly drawing to a close. Bagdad and Damascus were both in Allied hands and all Palestine was rescued from the hated Turkish invader. The Arabs, formerly the bitter enemies of the Crusaders, were now fighting side by side with the Christian troops.

Then the French seized Beirut and landed troops there, which entrained northeast to join the British armies outside Aleppo. That great railway junction, on the Bagdad railroad, was the only point of strategic importance left, for the Mesopotamian army, meanwhile, had invested Mosul. On October 26 Aleppo fell to the British and the French, and Turkey's fate was sealed. The Sultan surrendered on October 31, and, with his surrender came the end of the power of the Ottoman Empire.

"It's a little curious, when you think of it," said the War Correspondent, thoughtfully, "that the Arabs should be on the side of the Allies against the Turks. They're both Mohammedans, aren't they?"

"Yes," the Diplomat agreed, "although I think I mentioned, once before, that the Mohammedan Church is split into two parties, one of which is hostile to the Sultan of Turkey. The Arabs belong to this religious group. Besides, the Arabs had suffered for centuries from the tyranny and extortion of their Turkish masters.

"But the real reason lay deeper than that. Great Britain had administered India and other Mohammedan countries for many years, and had showed that she understood how to respect Mohammedan traditions and worship. Rightly or wrongly, the Arabs believed that only from England or France could they count on religious liberty without being compelled to suffer missionaries and efforts to proselytize. An alliance with those powers was possible.

"In this decision, an important part was played by Prince Feisul, son of the Sherif of Mecca, who raised the flag of revolt in the Arab Kingdom of the Hedjaz, on June 13, 1916. The Turkish garrisons at Mecca, Taif and Jedda

were speedily quelled. This opened the way to the Red Sea and a tentative alliance with Britain was quickly materialized into immediate aid. Arms, ammunition and food supplies were hurried to the Hedjaz by British naval vessels. In Medina, the siege was long, for the Arabs refused to fire on the holy city. The Turks had been less scrupulous and had bombarded Mecca — a fact which ensured to them the enmity of the whole Mohammedan world for ever.

"Feisul proved himself not only an efficient leader but a most extraordinarily able desert diplomat. Working night and day for more than a year, he succeeded in achieving the apparently impossible and settled amicably the blood-feuds and tribal jealousies which, for eleven centuries, had made desert travel impossible, and brigandage the natural state. Moreover, after pacifying all the tribes, he furthermore succeeded in welding them into an organized force, using modern arms, and forging this heterogeneous mass into a disciplined army, which served as Allenby's right wing throughout the Palestine campaign.

"The Allies won the river lands to Bagdad and the Judean heights to Jerusalem, but the pacification of the vast deserts that lie between was due to the genius and the driving power of a single Arab, Prince Feisul. The Last Crusade was not won against the Saracens, but with them, against a usurper. Alliance and a righteous consideration for the feelings of others had won the Holy Cities of the East, where the sword had failed. The Last Crusade made the Cross and the Crescent friends, not enemies."

XLVI

THE FAILURE OF THE ZEPPELINS

OF all the mistakes that Germany made during the war — declared the Economist — the most obvious was that of misjudging the character of other peoples. She expected to cow Belgium by means of "frightfulness" and only stirred up the world's hate; she tried to fan Mohammedan fanaticism into a Holy War, yet all the Arab peoples entered an alliance against her; she undertook to humble England by Zeppelin raids, with the sole result that British recruiting increased and that England's contempt for "baby-killers" rose to a white heat; she undertook to bluff the entire world that her submarines could establish a blockade of the seas, and drew down upon herself the wrath of the United States, which brought about her doom.

It is curious to note the importance which Germany attached to the Zeppelins at the beginning of the war. The Kaiser, in an address to his troops, spoke of these dirigibles as a means of "bringing England to her knees." Yet it was not until five months after the beginning of the war that the first Zeppelin raid was attempted. It was nearly another five months before a Zeppelin succeeded in making its way to the skies over London.

These early raids, the first use of dirigible airships in war, brought out two important additions to air-knowledge. The first was unfavorable to the Zeppelins, in that it showed

that dirigibles, as military factors, were of little value. They were unable to manœuvre in windy weather, not so much when they were actually in the air, as for starting and landing. They were unable to manœuvre in wet weather, for the lifting power was greatly reduced. They were unable to drop bombs with any degree of accuracy, it being largely if not entirely a matter of chance, where the bombs hit. Often a town with a square mile of area proved too small a mark, and Zeppelin bombs would fall on fields or in woods as much as a couple of miles distant from the point at which they were aimed.

The second factor was favorable to the Zeppelin. It showed that anti-aircraft protection, as it existed at the beginning of the war, was utterly unequal to the task. Anti-aircraft guns were too weak. Counter-attacks by aeroplanes were ineffective because of the ability of the Zeppelin to rise more quickly — by the release of ballast — than an aeroplane could spirial upwards. The first of these, the Zeppelin weakness, remained a weakness to the end of the war; the anti-aircraft gun weakness was speedily remedied, so speedily that Zeppelin raids became far more costly to the Germans than to their foes.

The total number of Zeppelins built by Germany was 104. Each of these — inclusive of the hangar and the expenses of training the crews — represented an outlay of at least $1,000,000. Germany thus spent $104,000,000 on Zeppelins. With these she made 41 raids on England and 22 on France. The casualties were 334 civilians and 50 military men in England, 101 civilians and 123 military men in France.

Of these 104 Zeppelins, 39 were destroyed on the various fronts and on raids, 9 were missing (probably lost at sea),

The British Naval Dirigible which crossed the Atlantic.

Photos from Brown Bros.

Improved type of sausage-kite observation balloon used in spotting.

CHARACTERISTIC TYPES OF AIRSHIPS USED IN THE WORLD WAR.

17 were so seriously wrecked as to be dismantled and 4 were employed as school ships. Upon the 48 Zeppelins lost, the average numbers of the trained crew ranged from 16 to 50 men. Assuming the average at 30 men, this would mean the death of 1,440 Germans against 608 English and French, a majority of which latter, however, were civilians, largely women and children. The property damage caused by the Zeppelins was estimated at $15,000,000 in England and $9,000,000 in France. Germany thus spent 104 millions to destroy 24 millions. German figures were much higher than this. They claimed 9,000 casualties — inclusive of every person slightly hurt — and 831 deaths as against 608 deaths in Allied records. The essential point, however, was that not only did not the Zeppelin raids accomplish nothing in a military sense but they were a serious economic loss.

So far as the individual raids were concerned, the weakness was equally apparent. There were forty-one raids on England. Civilian and military deaths thus averaged nine to each raid. On ten of the raids no casualties were suffered at all. Moreover, these raids raised English public opinion to a demand for reprisals. Aeroplane raids in Germany were fruitful of results, Berlin official figures announcing a total loss of 729 deaths and 1,574 casualties.

The end of the Zeppelin as a military machine arrived when aeroplane and anti-aircraft guns, together, proved to be an efficient defense. Both super-Zeppelins and improved vessels of the Schutte-Lanz type suffered heavily. As early as June 15, 1915, Lieutenant Warneford destroyed a Zepp from an aeroplane. A year later, the appearance of a Zepp was almost a sure signal for its destruction. A quick hit-and-get-away on a foggy night was the only re-

course left. To this had Germany's "air-fleet of genius" been reduced.

"I judge," remarked the Military Expert, "that you do not condemn all dirigibles?"

"That is not a matter on which I am competent to judge," the Economist answered. "I am aware that they have proved useful on land in artillery spotting, and they have been much used at sea in discovering submarines which are running only a short distance below the surface. The British government established a hundred dirigible stations on the coast, largely for convoy and patrol requirements. On November 11, 1918, Great Britain had 5 enormous Rigids and 53 of the famous S. S. Z. non-rigids as well as 45 airships of other types. To me, speaking as a student of finance, the fact that all governments in their budgets toward the end of the war, spent far more on aeroplanes than on dirigibles tells the story of the greater usefulness of the former. The point that I wish to stress is that the Zeppelin, viewed as a weapon of invasion and offence, was a ghastly and desperate failure.

"Commercially, the dirigible has great possibilities, as was evidenced by the successful trans-Atlantic flight of the British dirigible R-34, which, in July, 1919, flew from the British Isles to America in 108 hours, carrying 31 persons. The airship made the return flight without mishap. So important was this considered by the United States that the government purchased an airship of the same pattern at a cost of over $2,000,000. The close of the war found Britain rapidly becoming mistress of the air as she had been for years mistress of the seas. The military Zeppelin had failed, but the airship had come to stay."

XLVII

COMBATS IN THE SKY

AEROPLANES were not as great disappointments as Zeppelins — remarked the Military Expert, carrying on the topic begun by the Economist — but the World War revealed clearly that the aeronautic arm of the army and navy was still in its infancy. The importance of the air arm was immense, and the army which was deficient in that regard was at a serious disadvantage, but, at the close of the war, military men were well aware of its intrinsic weakness.

There were four types of aeroplanes used in the war, each intended for a different purpose. These purposes were individual combat, scouting, artillery spotting and bombing. The combat plane was a fighting machine designed as an offensive defense. It had no tactical value save as a protection to scouting, spotting or bombing planes, or as an opponent to an enemy's combat plane which was attacking the slower and heavier flyers.

Artillery spotting by aeroplane was of immense value at the beginning of the war. It became less important later. This was due to three causes. The first was that the astounding improvement in the powers of anti-aircraft guns forced spotting aeroplanes to fly at such great heights that exact observation was difficult. Secondly, wireless or signal communication with the main battery below was difficult. Thirdly, the whole character of artillery fire changed

during the war. Instead of being a bombardment of a particular spot, it became a rain of fire over a large though sharply defined area.

Scouting by aeroplane also proved of more importance at the beginning of the war than at the end. The "cavalry of the air" took less and less the place of cavalry. Thus, for example, in February, 1916, the French at Verdun were ignorant of the terrific concentration of troops and guns ready to move against them, which nearly lost them Verdun; and in March, 1917, the great retreat of the Germans on the Arras salient was equally unobserved from aloft. Yet in neither case did the Germans possess that mysterious supremacy which has been known as "the mastery of the air." Aeroplane photography became far less important than the public believed, because an aeroplane could not descend low enough in clear daylight to take a distinct picture without being shot to pieces by anti-aircraft guns; and pictures at great distance, even with the best tele-cameras, had become not only confusing but often misleading by the development of the art of camouflage.

Bombing by aeroplanes suffered under the same disadvantage as bombing by Zeppelins. Aiming was incredibly difficult. Moreover, aeroplanes are costly things to build and wear out very quickly. The cost of bombing raids was not proportionate to the results, at least, viewed from a military point of view. There were cases during the war where bombing planes did good service, as for example the destruction of a railway junction, locomotives and repair shops during a great offensive, thus crippling the sending forward of re-enforcements, but such cases were comparatively rare.

Where a war is of small scale and of short duration, the

development of a new weapon may decide the war. Where the conflict is large and long-drawn out, the value of a new weapon is temporary. Poison gas broke the Allied lines at Ypres, tanks drove the Germans back at Cambrai. But it was not long before the Allies retaliated with other poison gas devices; and the German tanks gave a good account of themselves a few months after the English monsters had first appeared on the scene. The weapons were equalized. Exactly the same process occurred with the aeroplanes. There were dramatic battles in the air, heroic combats of the sky,[1] the Allies and the Central Powers had their "aces" respectively, but the net tactical result on either side was nil, viewed in the light of big strategical issues.

It is not to be judged from this that the years 1917 and 1918 did not see some terrible bombing raids, on both sides. The German triplanes, Gothas, Friedrichshafens, in squadron formation, dropped tons upon tons of bombs. Moreover, the bombs had become far more destructive than those used by the Zeppelins. Nor were such bombing raids confined to the Germans. Over 400 raids were made by the Allies in German territory between October, 1917, and October, 1918, more than one a day. Death, suffering and loss of property was caused by both sides, yet neither gained any military advantage thereby.

Throughout the war, American aviators distinguished themselves, using French machines. The Lafayette escadrille won a notable place in aeronautic history. In proportion to the number of flyers in combat planes, America, in point of view of "aces," was second only to the French. Had the American aviators been given American aeroplanes

[1] For aerial feats, the reader is referred to "The Wonder of War in the Air," by the same author.

with which to fly, that branch of the service would have covered itself with even more glory. The American troops were dependent upon French machines to the very end of the war. No air service, among any of the belligerent nations, possessed a finer record among its men.

"Do you consider," asked the Economist, "that aerial work in the World War justified its cost in treasure and in life?"

"It is an unfortunate part of war," answered the Military Expert, "that much energy must always be given to annulling the projects of the enemy. If one side invents a new weapon, the other must invent a new defence, and the two become neutralized. It is no longer possible to discuss the advisability of aircraft in war. One might as well debate the question of using high explosive. The air service is as much a part of a modern army as the artillery or the infantry.

"Fortunately, as I see it, the enforced demands of war have caused an immense development in the conquest of the air, revealed by such great triumphs as the crossing of the Atlantic, in 1919, both by lighter-than-air and heavier-than-air machines. From the phœnix-fire of wanton destruction, Progress has arisen. Out of the evil of bombing raids has come the aerial mail, out of the risks of scouting has come the coast and forest patrol. Aircraft, baptized by the blood of patriots, have come into their own.

"America, the inventor of the aeroplane, which first took air on Kill Devil Hill, North Carolina, in 1901, also won the greatest of all air honors — the 'first to cross the Atlantic.' Three naval planes, N. C. 1, N. C. 3 and N. C. 4, started from New York to Portugal via Newfoundland

and the Azores. After 17 hours and 3 minutes of actual flying the N. C. 1 reached Portugal without accident, in a machine designed, built and manned by Americans. The first continuous trans-Atlantic flight was made by a British airplane with a British air officer as pilot and an American aviator as navigator, on June 14–15, 1919, the actual flying time being 16 hours and 12 minutes. The great feat had been achieved, though the aeroplane was still commercially and for military purposes in an experimental stage."

XLVIII

THE FLEETS IN ACTION

"GERMANY'S failure with her fleets of the air," remarked the Chief of Staff, "was not more conspicuous than her failure with her fleets of the sea. There was but one naval engagement in which battleships were engaged — the Battle of Jutland Bank. I have asked our friend, the Naval Expert, to give us the details of this action."

The Naval Officer bowed, and, without prelude, began:

The Battle of Jutland Bank was not only the most important naval engagement of the war, so far as the number and weight of ships on both sides were concerned, but the largest naval battle in the world's history. Regarded from the point of view of its effect upon the war, it was of minor value. Both sides claimed the victory.

As a matter of fact, the Battle of Jutland was not a victory for either side. The British losses both in tonnage and in men were heavier than the Germans, and the Germans steamed into safety. Germany expressed herself as pleased with the result, yet it appeared that Germany's pleasure was over her escape from destruction, in itself an admission of the superior naval strength of the British Navy.

None the less it must be admitted that the Germans had a very real right to boast. Ship for ship they had hammered

the British battle cruiser fleet to such purpose as to cause the sinking of two battle-cruisers, either one of them swifter and stronger than any ship of theirs. The German High Seas Fleet gave a good account of itself during the afternoon, evening and night of May 31–June 1, 1916. As this was the only occasion during the World War when the great fleets were joined, it is of importance to show the comparative strengths of the two rival forces.

The British Grand Fleet was divided into two parts. There was an advance force, under Admiral Beatty, consisting of six battle cruisers, supported by a battle squadron under Admiral Evan-Thomas, with four super-Dreadnoughts. Of Beatty's battle cruisers, four were "Cats," with 28.5 knots' speed and each carrying eight 13.5-inch guns; two were "Indefatigables" with 25 knots' speed and each having eight 12-inch guns. The battleships supporting Beatty were all of the "Queen Elizabeth" class, with 25 knots' speed and eight 15-inch guns. The main body, under Admiral Jellicoe, comprised twenty-five super-Dreadnoughts and Dreadnoughts, mostly with 21 knots' speed and mounting ten 13.5-inch guns; three battle-cruisers of the "Invincible" class, of 26 knots' speed and carrying eight 12-inch guns, and four armored cruisers of 22.5 knot speed and carrying six 9.2-inch guns.

The German High Seas Fleet was also divided into two parts. The advance force, under Admiral Hipper, consisted of five battle cruisers. Of these, three were of "Derfflinger" type, with 27 knots speed, mounting eight 12-inch guns, and two of "Moltke" type, with 28-knot speed, carrying ten 11-inch guns. The main force, under Admiral Scheer, consisted of sixteen Dreadnoughts — not a single super-dreadnought had then been built by the Germans —

principally of 20.5 knots' speed and mounting either ten 12-inch guns or ten 11-inch guns; and six pre-Dreadnought battleships, of 18 knots' speed and carrying four 11-inch guns.

Both fleets were accompanied by light cruisers and destroyers. In these, also, the British had an enormous advantage, with 22 light cruisers and 160 destroyers against the 18 light cruisers and 86 destroyers of the Germans. Two conditions prevented the absolute annihilation of the German fleet, one, the proximity of that fleet to its naval bases — for the action was fought only 180 miles from Helgoland — the other was the lateness of the hour and the hazy weather, which enabled the Germans to draw away at the very moment that Jellicoe had maneuvered his ships into striking position.

Indecisive though the Battle of Jutland may have been, its details are matters of the most vital interest in naval history. There were five phases to the engagement. The first phase was the action between the British advance force and the German advance force, in which the British were being decoyed toward the High Seas Fleet. The second was the turning maneuver, in which the British advance force engaged the German advance force and the leading ships of the High Seas Fleet, in turn decoying the Germans towards the Grand Fleet. The third phase was the action of the two combined fleets. The fourth was "capping the fleet." The fifth was the series of light cruiser and destroyer actions which took place during the night.

It was at 3:31 P. M. on May 31, 1916, that Beatty sighted the German advance force under Hipper. Both squadrons formed for battle, steaming in a southeasterly direction on slightly converging courses. Firing opened at 3:49 at

about 18,500 yards range (over ten miles). This was gradually shortened to 16,000 yards (less than nine miles) as the fleets approached.

Although the odds were heavily in favor of the British, both in guns and speed, German marksmanship was superior. In fact, British marksmanship was extremely poor. Thirty-two 15-inch guns and thirty-two 13.5-inch guns, firing respectively 20 and 10 rounds per hour, should have fired 960 rounds. Even 3 per cent would have been twenty-eight hits. There were nothing like as many. Only one enemy ship was set on fire. At 4:05 the British battle cruiser *Indefatigable* was sunk. At 4:08 the "Queen Elizabeths" opened fire at a little more than eleven miles, doing but little damage. At 4:32 the German High Seas Fleet was sighted to the southeast, Hipper having been engaged in decoying Beatty into the arms of the more powerful force. At 4:35, the *Queen Mary* also was sunk, with a dramatic suddenness which made the cause of her loss a mystery. (The favored theory is that a dropping shell exploded in the turret, firing the chains of powder leading to the magazines.) At 4:40, the German battle cruisers turned through 16 points (a complete semi-circle), taking up station in front of the High Seas Fleet.

That left Beatty two alternatives. He still had four super-battle cruisers and four super-Dreadnoughts, a fleet of very considerable striking power. He could either continue on his course and, with his superior speed, flank the High Seas fleet and hold it fast until Jellicoe should arrive, steaming down at full speed from the north; or he could take the risky maneuver of turning round in the face of the enemy, also making a semicircle, thereafter steaming northward, holding the High Seas fleet in play, and at the same

time leading it towards Jellicoe. Probably because of the lateness of the hour, Beatty took the latter course.

Thus, at 4:45 P. M., began the Second Phase of the Battle of Jutland, which must be considered as a double action. To the north, steaming at full speed, were the four remaining battle cruisers, by their superior speed endeavoring to reach the head of the German battle line. To the south of the newly formed line were the four "Queen Elizabeths" steaming slowly. On them lay the duty of engaging the High Seas fleet until Jellicoe could come down and deploy the whole Grand Fleet into position between the "Queen Elizabeths" and Beatty.

At 5 P. M. the Queen Elizabeths turned the sixteen points. The *Warspite* suffered injury to her steering gear and six of the enemy closed on her. Though badly hammered, she managed to escape a vital blow and sank one of her opponents, rejoining her three sisters at 5:15. Although the light was poor and the German ships were in the mist, the 15-inch guns of the Queen Elizabeths did a good deal of damage to the German fleet. At this point the British gunnery was excellent. During this period Beatty had been driving his cruisers with every ounce of steam to be had, and with the ships simply tearing through the water, he outflanked the Germans to the north. In order to save themselves, they had to make a full turn to starboard, heading east. During this part of the battle the biggest of the German vessels, the *Derfflinger*, was so seriously damaged that she was put out of the fight entirely.

The Third Phase began with the entrance of the Grand Fleet into the action and the engagement of the whole of the High Seas Fleet. This was a very delicate and difficult manœuver, but was perfectly timed. Ship after ship fell

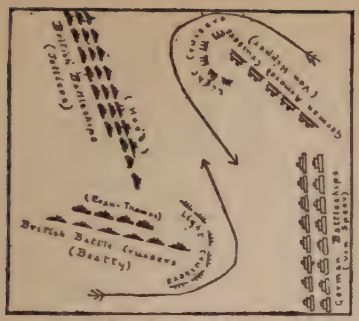


FIG. 34. (1) COMPARISON OF RESPECTIVE STRENGTH

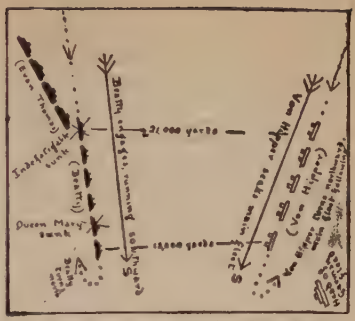


FIG. 35. (2) FIRST PHASE: 3.49–4.45 P. M.

FIG. 36. (3) SECOND PHASE: 4.45–6.21 P. M.

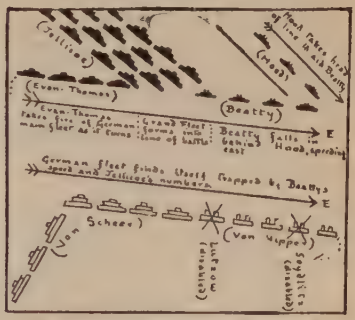


FIG. 37. (4) THIRD PHASE: 6.21–6.45 P. M.

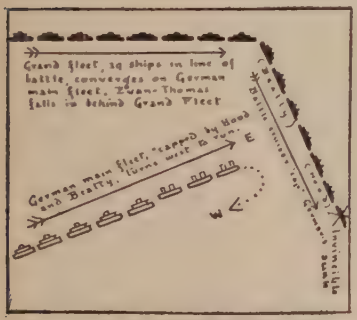

Grand Fleet, 24 ships in line of battle, converges on German main fleet. Evan-Thomas falls in behind Grand Fleet
German main fleet, reaped by Hood and Beatty, turns west in turn

FIG. 38. (5) FOURTH PHASE: 6.45–7.30 P. M.

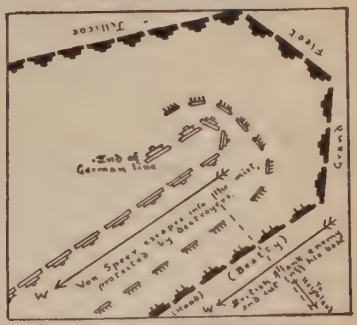


FIG. 39. (6) FIFTH PHASE: 7.30–9.30 P. M.

into battle line exactly between Beatty in the advance and the Queen Elizabeths to the rear. The three battle cruisers which were serving as a fast wing to the Grand Fleet, forged in ahead of Beatty, Admiral Hood in the *Invincible* leading the van. He took his station at 6:21, commencing fire immediately. By 6:25 the distance had been reduced to 8,000 yards. At 6:29 the *Invincible* was sunk.

A misty evening and a favoring wind shrouded the German fleet in smoke, from which mist the form of an enemy ship only appeared from time to time. The British fleet was silhouetted against the evening sky and made a clear mark, while, in return, they could only fire at the flashes of their opponents. Among capital ships, the *Lutzow* and the *Pommern* were disabled during this time, the former sinking on her way to port, the latter being crippled and sunk during the night, by a torpedo. The " capping of the German fleet " constituted the Fourth Phase.

One hour of clear daylight would not have left a German ship afloat. Scheer was surrounded on three sides by a force of at least thrice his striking strength, having the advantage of gun power, speed and position. But, in addition to the smoke of battle, the German commander edged away steadily, ordering his destroyers to put up the densest smoke screen they could muster, and when dark fell, the British chance of annihilating German sea-power was gone.

The Fifth Phase was left for the light cruisers and the destroyers. Jellicoe reported that he had every reason to suppose that he could be able to locate the enemy at daylight under favorable circumstances and that therefore he did not deem it wise to risk his fleet among the mine-fields at night. Destroyer and light cruiser attacks continued through the night. In this phase the German losses were the heavier.

By 9 o'clock the enemy was out of sight of the bigger vessels, and Jellicoe withdrew behind the shelter of the flotillas of lighter vessels to guard his capital ships from torpedo attack.

At 3 A. M. of June 1, with the approach of daylight, Jellicoe and Beatty were ninety miles to the southeast of the battlefield. No German ships were in sight. The Grand Fleet cruised slowly northwestwards, arriving on the scene of the previous day's battle between 7 A. M. and 8 A. M. A Zeppelin was engaged at 4 A. M., which turned and headed for Helgoland, proving that the Germans must have known the location of the English fleet. Jellicoe cruised thereabout for five or six hours longer, waiting for some sign of the enemy, and at 1:15 A. M. returned to port for coal and to refit.

The German Admiralty announced that when, in the afternoon of June 1, it came out looking for the British, the Grand Fleet had "run away." Admiral Scheer, a sailor and not a politician, made an entirely different report. He admitted that the Battle of Jutland showed that the big-gun ship had, more than ever, proved its importance as the principal factor in naval battles and that not a single British battleship had been lost. It was evident that he considered himself lucky to get away, and the German Admiralty added its own comment to the battle by never letting the fleet go out again. To the end of the war, the German High Seas Fleet skulked in its naval bases. There was nothing else that it could do.

XLIX

THE SLINKING SUBMARINE

DURING the Great War — the Naval Officer continued — the use of the submarine was greatly misunderstood. The submarine or U-boat [1] was admitted by all nations to be a regular and legitimate craft, and a submarine fleet was an accepted unit in the navies of the several powers. When the war broke out the British Navy had 90 submarines, France had 64, America had 33, Russia had 30, Germany had 27, Japan had 15. Holland had gone so far as to announce that she was going to turn her attention, navally, almost exclusively to submarines, and had planned for a fleet of 60 submersibles of the large cruising type.

Germany had not been an advocate of the submarine. She had followed England's lead in the development of capital ships, though far behind, both in construction and in power. Yet, soon after the outbreak of war, she became the greatest advocate of the submarine among the nations. This was due solely to two facts — the success of certain submarine raids in the early part of the war, and the fact that her High Seas Fleet was too weak to dare an open fight with the British Navy.

It was the sinking of the three British cruisers, the *Hogue,* the *Aboukir* and the *Cressy,* on September 22, 1914,

[1] The word U-boat does not represent any special type of submarine, but is an abbreviation of "Unterseeboot," German for submarine.

by a single German submarine, the U. 9, commanded by Captain-Lieutenant Otto von Weddigen, which more than any other one thing, convinced the Germans of the vulnerability of naval vessels. These three warships were sunk in less than an hour. Without delay, Germany set to work to build submarines, using three shifts of men at all the navy yards. In all, nearly 800 submarines, of various types, were built by Germany during the war. As this represented an output of between three to four U-boats a week, and as a submarine takes six months to build, on an eight-hour-day basis, Germany must have had nearly 40 shipyards working on submarines 24 hours in the day.[1]

The results of Germany's submarine campaign against commerce were astounding, especially at first. During the four years of the war, submarines sunk Allied and neutral shipping to the extent of 21,404,913 deadweight tons, an average of 445,000 tons monthly. During those years the total construction of ships was 14,247,825 deadweight tons, while enemy vessels captured amounted to 3,795,000 tons. The net tonnage loss, thus, was 3,362,000 tons. In May, 1918, the rate of shipbuilding construction rose to a point higher than that of destruction, both because more shipyards were functioning, and because improved methods of fighting the submarine had been developed. From that date, construction exceeded destruction, largely owing to American shipyards. During the last three months of the war, submarine sinkings declined rapidly. British officials announced the known loss of 150 enemy submarines. This was exclusive of missing and disabled.

[1] These figures are inclusive of the submarines found in various stages of completion in German shipyards after the signing of the armistice.

Not all of this warfare against commerce was unjustifiable. In times of war, according to international usage, a submarine had a right to sink any enemy armed vessel, with or without all hands; it had a right to stop any unarmed enemy merchantman and seize the cargo, but must provide for the safety of the crew; it had a right to stop and search any neutral merchantman, confiscate the cargo if that proved to be of munitions, or seize the cargo if of other merchandise, paying the full price therefor.

It had not the right to fire on any hospital or relief ships, even of the enemy, nor to drown the crew of any merchantman. Thus, the sinking of the *Cressy, Hogue* and *Aboukir* was a legitimate naval action; the sinking of the *Lusitania* was piracy and murder; the sinking of the *Llandovery Castle,* with wounded, doctors and women nurses (all the latter being drowned), added cold-blooded brutality to the piratical bloodshed.

On February 5, 1915, the German Admiralty proclaimed a "war zone" around the British Isles with the intention of blockading England by submarines. This established a new era in naval warfare, for thitherto submarines had only been employed as auxiliaries. Germany used them as separate units. England responded by defending her ports with nets. By the end of March, fifteen German submarines had thus been caught.

The largest vessel sunk by German submarines was the *Lusitania,* torpedoed on May 7, 1915, by a submarine of the U-39 class. Twenty minutes after the torpedo had struck, the great Cunard liner, absolutely unarmed, had disappeared beneath the surface of the sea. There were 1,154 persons drowned, many of them women and children, 102 of the number being Americans. The *Lusitania* carried contra-

band of war, and the German government had issued a warning before sailing. The whole world rose in indignation over the act and the American people showed little agreement with the action of its government when, on June 10, an American note was sent to Germany smoothing the matter over.

The next move in Germany's submarine warfare — though ships were being sunk daily — was an announcement, on February 10, 1916, that armed belligerent merchant vessels would be sunk without warning, this policy to go into effect on March 1, 1916. The right and wrong of this decision was a matter of technical controversy, since an armed merchantman might be regarded as an auxiliary cruiser.

Thereafter, submarine methods became more and more desperate and callous. Cases were multiplied in which submarine commanders shot survivors struggling in the water; in which they decoyed survivors on board the superstructure and then dived, leaving the men to drown; in which they ordered the crew to take to the lifeboats and then shelled the lifeboats; or in which they set women and children adrift in open boats, without food, in the middle of the ocean.

On July 27, 1916, Captain Fryatt, of a British steamer, was tried and executed by the Germans for having tried to ram a submarine with the bow of a merchant steamer. The German court-martial stigmatized his crime as that of "a franc-tireur of the sea." The British Government — before the execution — notified the German Government that Captain Fryatt, in defending himself from attack, was acting within international law. The American Ambassador protested also, but his note was ignored. The execution

caused almost as much indignation as that of Edith Cavell, a nurse, who had been secretly executed on October 12, 1915, on her own confession that she had been guilty of participation in a plot by which Belgian, French and British soldiers, captured by the Germans, were enabled to escape.

On April 9, 1917, the Commission for the Relief of Belgium produced definite evidence of the sinking of twelve ships carrying food and clothing for the sufferers in Belgium, even after the German government had given official assurance of their immunity.

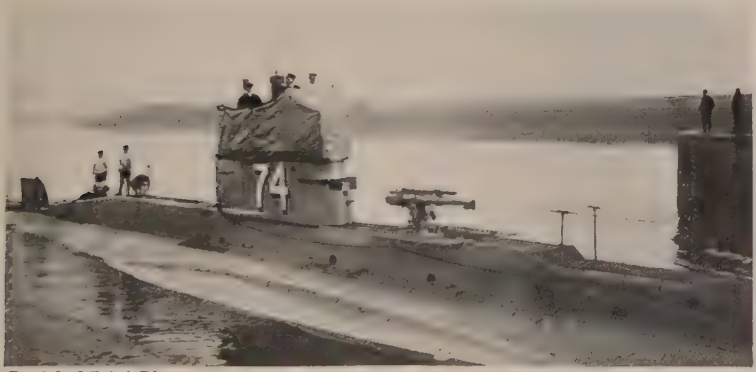
In November, 1917, the British government issued an official statement with regard to the attacks on hospital and Red Cross ships. During the three years of the war, to that time, 51 hospital ships had been fired on, 17 had been sunk, and only in one instance (the *Dunluce Castle,* on February 23, 1917) did the Germans even take the trouble to stop a hospital ship to examine her papers, as international law required them to do.

On September 3, 1918, the German submarines ceased their operations in American waters. During the three years and a half in which Germany had been attacking merchantmen — whether armed or not — she had sunk 141 American vessels. The tonnage loss of these was over 350,000 tons, and the lives lost were 447, counting the missing. In by far the larger number of these attacks, there was no excuse for the sinking. Fifty-eight of the number were sailing ships, and only twenty-one were armed.

It should be pointed out that the submarine menace was not brought to an end by the closing of the war. The submarine had been checked before that. By the summer of 1918 — although Germany possessed double the number of submarines — the sinking of Allied and neutral ships had

U. S. Official Photo.

Latest type American submarine used in the war.



British Official Photo.

Latest type English submarine used in the war. Note deck gun.

U. S. Official Photo.

German submarine which surrendered to U. S. destroyer *Fanning*.

CHARACTERISTIC TYPES OF WAR SUBMARINES.

been reduced to 300,000 tons monthly. This may be compared with the high-water mark of 2,300,000 tons reached in May, 1917. If the second and third years of the Great War revealed the menace of submarines to merchant vessels, the fourth year taught the manner of minimizing those losses.

Since the U-boat question was one of the prime factors in bringing America into the war, the German claim that this method of warfare was in retaliation merits attention. The facts prove the contrary. The blockade against Germany was not instituted by Great Britain until March 11, 1915. Yet, on October 26, 1914, the *Admiral Gantéaume,* with 2,000 unarmed refugees, was sunk by a German submarine, and, to give an American example, the *William B. Frye* was sunk (by an auxiliary cruiser) on January 27, 1915. The German blockade of Great Britain and Ireland was ordered by the German government on February 4, 1915, and put into effect February 18, 1915. All this occurred before the established of the British blockade. German submarine warfare, therefore, was not in the nature of a reprisal at all.

The Germans also denied that the U-boats had fired upon helpless men in life-boats, after they had left their ships. An official inquiry showed twelve authenticated cases of this. Submarines fired on the crews, respectively, of the *Kildare, John W. Pearn, Vulcana, Belgian Prince* (a most barbarous case), *Westminster, Eavestone, Addah, Umaria, Vanland, Baltic, Freden,* and *Hestia.*

It would be unjust to the submarines, however, to present them only as commerce destroyers. One of their chief missions was that of mine-laying. The number of mines laid during the war run well into the tens of thousands,

each one powerful enough to sink a super-Dreadnought, rightly placed. In this work the submarines were almost invulnerable, the work being done not far from German naval bases, generally in foggy weather or on a dark night. Even there, however, a perfected patrol system, wherein each vessel was equipped with wireless and under-water microphones, proved disastrous to the submarines, which, of necessity, could not proceed above water fast enough to escape a destroyer and could not stay under water long enough to escape a mosquito fleet of motor patrols.

Before the war ended, the Allied fleets — including the American fleet, which did splendid service — had greatly diminished the harmfulness of the submarine. Transports were defended by convoys, ports were defended by nets and other devices, mine-fields were defended by motor-boat patrols in close touch with fast light cruisers or destroyers. Nothing was left for the U-boat but petty piracy. A barge or a fishing schooner had become its usual prey. To such small purpose had the submarine descended.

"Yet, surely," said the Military Expert, "you regard the submarine as an important addition to a navy?"

"Not the submarine of the World War, no," the Naval Officer replied. "It had become ineffective. But there is no doubt that the undersea boat at that time held the possibility of becoming one of the most important factors in a navy. Even at the close of the war the submarine possessed too many weaknesses. Owing to the lack of air when submerged, it was compelled to use electric engines, and since such engines must be light, they could not give high speed. Owing to the crushing weight of water, a submarine could not submerge so far beneath the surface as to be out of

reach of a depth bomb. Owing to the slowness with which a submarine of the types of that time submerged, it was vulnerable for as much as two minutes after having been discovered a-wash. Owing to the necessity of being able to see, it was compelled to come to the surface to aim at its prey. Practically its only use was as a mine-layer or commerce destroyer. In the former case, the mines would be swept up by mine-sweepers, in the latter case its use could not be deemed legitimate because it could not provide for the safety of the crews of merchant vessels.

"If, however, a submarine should be developed which can descend to considerable depths, which can carry engines that will enable it to make long runs submerged, which can see under the water without coming to the surface, and which can be built with sufficient strength to resist the explosion of a depth bomb in its vicinity, such a machine would become of enormous potency against an enemy. But, by the close of the World War, few of these problems had been solved, even by the Great Britain submarine cruisers, and the last six months of naval warfare proved more clearly the weakness than the strength of the submarine. At the same time they showed its terrible possibilities. When the war closed, many men in naval circles felt that the future of the "freedom of the seas" lay more in the hands of the submarine inventors than in the decrees of international tribunals."

L

WHY AMERICA ENTERED THE WAR

"I SHOULD like to know," said the Chief of Staff, turning to the War Correspondent, "what answer History will make to the questions as to why America entered the war so late, and why she entered at all. What do you think will be the final verdict?"

There was silence in the room for several minutes. The question was not an easy one to answer.

"I suppose," said the War Correspondent, at last, "that the real reason was that the sentiment of the American people had slowly been brought to realize that the issues involved in the World War were too great for the United States to be able to stay out of it honorably any longer. The American people felt that England, France and Italy formed a group of nations more in relation with modern ideas of liberty and good government than Germany, Austria and Turkey.

"I've been expecting your question," he continued, "and I have taken under consideration many of the alleged causes for America's entrance into the war. Most of them must be dismissed as actual causes, but most of them, again, were the forces that crystallized public sentiment and served as the fire in which America forged her plowshare into a sword. Let me analyze them.

"We cannot honestly say that we entered the war because

of Belgium. On the contrary, the United States was one of the very few nations in the world which did not make an official protest against Germany's violation of Belgium and the atrocities immediately following it. This was due to the United States policy of non-interference with European affairs, but our silence was greatly misunderstood in Europe. Judiciousness was misinterpreted as cowardice, and Germany went so far as to hint that we condoned the Belgian horrors, which most emphatically was not true.

"We did not enter the war because 'blood is thicker than water.' Of our native-born population, we were divided almost in equal thirds, one-third kin to the Central Powers, one-third kin to the Allies, one-third of old American stock and largely neutral. At the beginning of the war, there were almost as many people who remembered that England was our ancient enemy as there were of those who recalled that France was our ancient friend. This accounted, largely, for the fact that America did not dash immediately into the conflict. The war, however, did bring into strong relief the fact that there could be no hyphenated citizens. An 'American' came to mean a '100 per cent American.'

"We did not enter the war because of commercial reasons, as was alleged by the extreme pacifists. That was a libel on the American spirit. On the contrary, the figures show that America made a great deal of money during the two and a half years of its neutrality and lost heavily from the first day it entered the fray. There is — there can be — nothing but praise for the manner in which American citizens showed a willingness to suffer personal losses for a personal ideal.

"We did not enter the war because of outraged sensibili-

ties on the question of vandalism. If truth be told, the vast mass of the American population, especially in the rural districts, cared little about the architectural values of a medieval building in a Belgian city, or the artistic beauties of a stained glass window in a French cathedral. Such acts of desecration, however, had their effect in convincing the American spirit that there was a great gulf fixed between it and Prussianism.

"We did not enter the war in any hot-headed fashion or in national pique because the United States had been insulted. On the contrary, never in the history of the world did any first-class power swallow as many insults as we did from the Kaiser's government, merely writing diplomatic 'notes' about them. The preference for peace and this forbearance under injury was misunderstood in Berlin.

"We did not directly enter the war because Germany had slain our citizens in unprovoked attack. Vessels, with Americans aboard, which were torpedoed, mined or sunk by submarine attack included, among others, the *Falaba,* March 28,1915; *Gulflight,* May 1, 1915; *Lusitania,* May 7, 1915; *Nebraskan,* May 25, 1915; *Armenian,* June 28, 1915; *Orduna,* July 3, 1915; *Leo,* July 9, 1915; *Leelanaw,* July 25, 1915; *Nicosian,* August 19, 1915; *Arabic,* August 19, 1915; *Hesperian,* September 4, 1915; *Ancona,* November 7, 1915; *Petrolite,* December 5, 1915; *Yasaka Maru,* December 21, 1915; *Persia,* December 30, 1915; *Silius,* March 9, 1916; *Tubantia,* March 13, 1916; *Berwindvale,* March 18, 1916; *Englishman,* March 24, 1916; *Sussex,* March 24, 1916; *Manchester Engineer,* March 27, 1916; *Eagle Point,* March 27, 1916, which was followed by a lull after the trouble over the *Sussex* case. In October, 1916, German submarines began to stop vessels leaving American ports and the sink-

ings were resumed, such as *Rowanmore,* October 26, 1916; *Marina,* October 28, 1916; *Arabia,* November 6, 1916; *Chemung,* December 16, 1916, and *Russia,* December 29, 1916. Over 250 American lives were thus lost before we entered the war. But it took two years before the latent hostility provoked by such outrages flamed into action. President Wilson secured his re-election on the slogan 'He kept us out of war.' It was quite true. He had.

"We did not enter the war because our country had been honey-combed with spies, because our factories had been turned into possible artillery bases, because our colleges had been subtly permeated with German propaganda, because the Germans had fomented rebellion in the United States, because an office had been established for the fabrication of fraudulent passports, because bombs had been placed in American passenger vessels, because certain newspapers had been bought to spread pro-Germanism, nor because Germany sought to force Mexico into a declaration of war against the United States. All this, and much more, we passed over, though there was a growing conviction among the American people that the cup of German insolence and iniquity was almost full.

"We did not enter the war by reason of any willingness on the part of the President of the United States at that time. On the contrary, on January 22, 1917, the President uttered his famous pacificist speech of 'peace without victory' adding that he meant by this that 'victory would mean peace forced upon the loser.' Germany, he declared, must not be 'a loser, but an equal.' Yet, twelve days after, the German Ambassador was given his passports and diplomatic relations were broken.

"Mr. Chief of Staff and Gentlemen, I am convinced

that America entered the war because of the righteous sentiment of the people as a whole, because Congress, reflecting the will of the people, was growing intolerant of German arrogance, and because Germany's impudent submarine note of January 31, 1917, forbidding neutral (and therefore, American) ships to navigate certain zones of the seas, was a blow at the sovereignty of America. Already over 250 lives had been lost and American patience and long-suffering had been strained to the breaking point.

"We broke diplomatic relations on February 3, 1917. Yet it was not until April 2, 1917 that the President presented to Congress his War Message and not until April 6, 1917, that Congress declared war against Germany. The happenings of the intervening two months showed that the spirit of the American people had been thoroughly roused, and that the pro-German propaganda had been more widely diffused than had been supposed.

"We did not enter the war 'to make the world safe for democracy.' That famous phrase occurred in a presidential message which said: 'The world must be made safe for democracy,' and which was further defined as meaning that 'peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.' This did not mean that we required other peoples to pattern themselves upon our particular form of democracy, but rather that we allied ourselves with other nations who also were foes to Prussian world-spirit militarism, in its turn allied with Austrian misrule and Turkish absolutism.

"America entered the war because the American people wanted to be on the side of the free peoples of the world against those nations which desired to enslave smaller or subject peoples. To a large extent the same spirit was

rife as that which, in the Civil War, led the North to demand the abolition of slavery.

"I am compelled to admit that as a people we exaggerated some of the issues. This was inevitable in the heat of war. The German — our enemy — was not more autocratically governed than the Russian — our ally; the Bulgarian was not more under the heel of his nobles than the Serbian. German militarism was no more world-dominating on land than British navalism was masterful on the seas.

"The German people were not oppressed in the manner that many Americans, who had not lived in Europe, believed them to be. The point was that the American believed them to be oppressed. Moreover, he knew that conquered Belgium had been savagely oppressed. And, from his very first day in the little red schoolhouse, the American child was brought up to believe that it was a part of his duty to relieve the oppressed, to defend liberty at all hazards, even as his forefathers had done.

"History will record that America entered the war on a wave of popular indignation against what it believed to be Prussian tyranny, and knew to be Prussian barbarism, the actual provocation of the war being Germany's arrogant closing of the seas by a submarine blockade. It would be historically untrue, as well as unjust, to depict the United States as having remained neutral for two and a half years and then entered the war, at a President's behest. That would be autocracy. We entered as a democracy, because the people could no longer be held back.

"History will also record that America asked no indemnity, sought no spoil, intrigued for no territorial advantage. We sought 'the reign of law, based upon the

consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.' In the words of the great Belgian poet Maeterlinck: 'America understood that the issue at stake was not only a matter of elementary justice and pity, but that it was still more a question of high duty toward the eternal conscience and morals of mankind.'"

LI

THE UNITED STATES IN ARMS

IN military affairs,— said the Military Expert, taking up the theme — it may be taken as an axiom that "Success is on the side of the heaviest battalions." Battles are won by the enemy which has the greatest weight of men and shells at the crucial point and the crucial time. For example, England was mistress of the seas during the World War, not because her great modern fleet had fought its way to that super-eminence, but solely because of its size.

When, therefore, on April 6, 1917, the United States declared war against Germany, she only dared do so because Germany's hands were tied by the fact that the Teuton hosts were, at that time, fighting nearly all the rest of the civilized world. It is well to understand this. Had America, single-handed, declared war upon Germany, single-handed, the United States would have been defeated before she began. On that date, April 6, 1917, the United States Army consisted of less than 100,000 men, and the German Army was well over 3,000,000. Then, too, the German fleet was larger than the American fleet. Also, America had a far larger sea-coast to defend and was therefore more vulnerable than Germany.

It is essential to remember that America could only enter the war as a help to the Allies. The moment she de-

clared war, she was open to invasion. Even the most patriotic and fire-eating American of that time was compelled to admit that 100,000 men and a fleet inferior in numbers (8 Dreadnoughts against 16), could not protect America against 3,000,000 men and a fleet superior in numbers. Therefore, America was compelled to depend upon the British fleet and the Allied armies to keep her from being invaded. The United States entered the war on a promissory plan, the Allies being willing to protect her until her military establishment had developed sufficiently not only to protect herself but also to swing preponderant numbers to the side of the Allies.

The America of 1917 was no help to the Allies. On the contrary she was a considerable drain. It was the promise of what America could be in 1918 and the assurance of what she would be in 1919 that counted. It was a much-discussed question whether the actual fighting of the Americans during the few months of May–November, 1918, overbalanced the loss due to the sending of French and British officers as instructors to America, to the difficulties of breaking in and training raw troops, to the divided counsels in the field, to the necessity of supplying American aviators with French machines, and American artillerists with French and British guns, to the fact that much British tonnage was occupied in bringing American supplies for American troops in training, and to the fact that the American army disturbed European military discipline by its utter difference in point of view and pay.

But there was no question as to the importance of the American potential. There was no question as to the fact that the individual American soldier, regarded as a fighting man, proved himself of high valor. There was no

question that the 4,000,000 Americans under arms was the menace which caused the German surrender. The 2,000,000 soldiers who stayed at home may not have felt that they had as much to do with the defeat of the Kaiser as the 2,000,000 men who went abroad, but they had.

History records that it was the ever-increasing strength of the American army which broke the spirit of the Germans. Germany yielded in the autumn of 1918 to the evidence of what the American army would be in the spring of 1919. She did not dare to face the United States under arms.

There is not the slightest question but that the Rhine could have been forced and the Allied armies could have marched into Berlin had Germany delayed her surrender six months longer. There is more than a possibility that a crushing military defeat might have been secured earlier. But the date of the surrender, November 11, was already the threshold of winter, and if the Germans had decided to make a stubborn intrenched stand, Allied heavy artillery could not have been brought forward in the mud with sufficient swiftness to force a decisive result before the spring.

Germany surrendered to save herself from humiliation, the Allies accepted the surrender to stop needless loss of life and to save the unnecessary horrors of a fifth winter in the trenches. It was the humanitarianism of the Allies which allowed Germany to escape with a technical military defeat, instead of a crushing conquest.

For this reason, the American army encamped in the United States was a factor of almost equal potency with that which went overseas. For this reason, also, the speed with which the American army was organized was a prime

essential. The details are of the highest importance, not only in considering the war, but also in displaying the ability of the American people to raise an army when the raising of an army is found necessary.

As a new Act, operative on July 1, 1916, changed to some exent the organization of the army, comparison with the American army at the close of the war should be made with the American Army on April 6, 1917, the day of the Declaration of War. The figures on the latter date were as follows: Regular Army 127,588, National Guard in Federal Service, 80,466; Reserve Corps in service, 4,000, or an army of 212,034 men. The personnel of the navy numbered 65,777 and the Marine Corps 15,627. Thus the armed forces of the United States at the Declaration of War numbered 293,438 in all. On November 11, 1918, the day of the signing of the armistice, the army numbered 3,764,000 men, the Navy personnel was 497,030 and the Marine Corps had risen to 78,017, making a total of 4,339,047. At the beginning of the war there were 197 vessels of all kinds in the American Navy, and 2,003 at the close of the war. Of the Army, 13 per cent. were regulars, 10 per cent. National Guardsmen, and 77 per cent. of the National Army or drafted forces. While the British Empire sent more men to the front in its first year of war than did the United States, this country reached a strength of 2,000,000 in eighteen months, while it took the British Empire three years to reach that point.

Military preparations could have been quickened but for congressional difficulties, which delayed advance for several weeks, just at the time when quick action was of the highest importance. In the congress ending March, 1917, a determined effort was made to pass an important Military

Appropriation Bill, carrying an expenditure of $279,000,000. Obstruction by a group of anti-war senators caused the failure of this and other important bills by the Sixty-Fourth Congress.

The next move toward military increase occurred on April 2, 1917, when the President called an extraordinary session of congress and addressed Congress personally. He said, in part: "I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government (referring to the ruthless submarine campaign) to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country into a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. . . . It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training."

On Good Friday, April 6, 1917, Congress passed a Joint Resolution declaring the existence of a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government and authorizing and directing the President "to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and, to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all the re-

sources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

It is worthy of note that the War Resolution was passed by the Senate on April 4, by a vote of 82 to 6, with 8 absent. All the absentees, however, had gone on record as in favor of the resolution. In the House of Representatives, the resolution was passed by 373 to 50, with 9 not voting. As a matter of historic interest, it may be mentioned that Jeannette Rankin, the only woman member ever, to that time, elected in Congress, voted "No."

There was no rush to volunteer for the Army. In point of fact, no country that entered the war received so little response in the matter of recruits, and yet no country spent so much in recruiting campaigns. During April, 1917, the Secretary of War announced that enlistments averaged 1,434 per day, from all over the country. Allowing the number of men of military age to be 26,000,000, this was a recruiting rate of one-eighteenth of one per cent per day. As America had tentatively promised an army of 2,000,000 men, this pace of recruiting was absolutely useless. It would have taken nearly four years to get the number promised to join the colors. In America, the volunteer system had failed.

On May 18, 1917, Congress passed a bill authorizing the formation of a new army by conscription. It was known as the selective draft law. Its opponents attacked it as militaristic and autocratic. It would have been both, had it been forced upon an unwilling people, but it was not so forced. It was willingly adopted by the parliament of a democracy after a month's cautious debate. Also, it was not saddled upon the country in perpetuity, but was designed for the duration of the war. The vote in the Senate

was 81 to 8, and the House of Representatives, 397 to 24. In the proclamation, issued on May 18 by the President of the United States, an excellent phrase was used. He said, speaking of the law: "It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass."

The law, in brief, provided for the raising of an army of 2,000,000 in the first year. The regular army was raised to a limit of 287,000 men, the National Guard to 625,000. Recruits in the regular army began training immediately, national guards units during July and the men selected under the draft by September. June 5 was Registration Day and 9,666,000 men registered. There was practically no trouble, and opposition to the draft was so small as to show that the pacificist and anarchist groups were possessed of more noise than followers. By the end of the war 26,000,000 men of military age were either in the service or registered in the draft.

General Pershing and his staff landed in England, June 8, and he was received by the King next day. He landed in France June 13 and was received by the President of the French Republic on June 14. Several units of American troops had preceded him. The first units of the new army arrived on June 26 and 27, the last units of this American Expeditionary Force — which had been attacked by submarines on the way — arriving July 2.[1] The men went into camp at once, to learn the ways of war.

The first 1,000,000 men needed for the army was raised in six months, a remarkable record. The recruits for the regular army reached the maximum war strength of 300,000 men on August 9, 1917, the National Guard having

[1] A combatant group had gone to the front on May 24.

been drafted into Federal service two days before. The first section of the conscripted army, known as the National Army, reached camp early in September.

All the time that this preparatory work was going on in the United States, French, British and Belgian soldiers were dying in the trenches daily, waiting for American help. While the slow machinery of the draft system was being put in operation, the Battle of the Somme was raging. The Allies fought confidently, knowing that the Americans were coming.

On July 24, 1917, the War Aircraft Bill was passed by Congress and signed by the President, but, as afterwards appeared, the results from this expenditure were almost nothing. The money was wasted in experimentation and in an effort to construct an all-American type of aeroplane, which could be manufactured in large quantities. The public was kept continually misinformed. As early as September 12, 1917, the Secretary of War announced that the Liberty Motor had been built and successfully tested. The facts were that, even a year later, it was not fully successful. Not less than 300,000 airplanes were needed, yet only 1,885 were shipped overseas, and these only of a bombing type. (Congressional investigation in 1920 stated that only 234 American machines were used in actual warfare.) The production of the Liberty Motor reached a total of 5,460, most of which were delivered during the last few weeks of the war. Of the flights made by American aviators, less than 3 per cent were on American machines.

By the beginning of 1918, a thorough discontent with the War Department had revealed itself among the Ameri-

can people. Letters from men in the camps portrayed incredible mismanagement. The people had voted large sums, paid high taxes, given generously to war loans, accepted conscription, done everything that human power could do. Yet mismanagement was going far to vitiate America's sacrifice. Congress took up the matter.

On February 4, 1918, Senator Hitchcock, spokesman for the administration, was compelled to admit the truth of the complaints from the camps. He reported officially: "Nine months after we entered the war we found, in the dead of winter, tens of thousands of men without overcoats, tens of thousands lacking woolen breeches and other serious shortages.

"We found most of the machine-gun companies unable to drill because they had no machine guns. We found hundreds of thousands of men drilling with wooden sticks because of delays and mistakes in ordering rifles.

"We found a distressing amount of sickness, due to lack of clothing and overcrowding. We found camp hospitals without drainage, plumbing or heat; sick men without nurses.

"We found that we must depend upon overstrained France for machine guns until nearly the end of this year, and that not one-tenth of the new Browning machine-guns, on which we are to rely, can be delivered before August. We found that the first heavy artillery of American make cannot be expected before July. We cannot get powder from our two $60,000,000 powder plants before August."

Not only were these figures irrefutable but the conditions remained serious to the end of the war. When the armistice was signed, there were 4,000,000 men under arms,

but less than 3,000,000 rifles — and a rifle is not immortal. On the firing line in France, American troops used 2,250 pieces of artillery, of which 104 were made in America.

Finding departmental conditions in this state, civil commissions were appointed to try and make up the deficiencies. Business men came loyally to the fore, and the keenest organizing brains of the country took hold of the situation, with surprising results. Where government departments had failed, business men's commissions achieved instant approval and success, although they were called on at the last moment.

The essential fact remained that, whether they had wooden sticks for rifles, and dummies for machine guns; whether there was sickness from bad management and failure to provide clothing; whether there was an orgy of waste and a riot of incompetency; whether there was a pitiful mishandling of so simple a matter as mail, and a glaring injustice in the administration of military courts,[1] the American men, regular, national guard and draft, and the American officers with them, worked and drilled and learned. Under terrible disadvantages, in the teeth of the most thwarting handicaps, the American Army formed itself. Without disparaging any other country, it may justly be said that never, in so short a space of time, did any country ever make so good an army.

The accomplishments of Americans "over there" in addition to the fighting, were of the highest order. American engineers built 1,538 miles of railroad track and 83 new ship berths. The Signal Corps strung more than 100,000 miles of telegraph and telephone wire. The construction

[1] It is not pleasant to say these things but the 4,000,000 American soldiers knew them only too well.

work in camps and ports in France equalled the labor spent in digging the Panama Canal and even greater labors were undertaken in the United States.

Forty-two divisions were sent to France, and of these, twenty-nine took part in active service. American troops (only a few at first) were on the front for 200 days. In thirteen major operations — out of the 421 of the whole war — American troops participated. For ten and a half weeks before the end of the war the American battle line on the western front was longer than the British. Two out of every three soldiers who reached France took part in some active service. In air work the Americans showed up well. There were brought down 755 German planes as against 357 planes flown by Americans. A little less than one half of one per cent of the men sent to France were killed in battle, or one quarter of one per cent of the whole army.

Less spectacular, perhaps, but not less gallant, was the work of the navy in submarine-infested seas. To the American Navy, which was well administered, well handled and well supported, must be accorded credit for the safety of the transport of American troops overseas, almost one half of the convoys being under the Stars and Stripes. The submarine peril was reduced to a minimum by the American Navy as well as by the British Navy. The establishment of the Orkney mine-field, 250 miles in length with an average width of 25 miles, containing 70,000 mines of which 56,500 were American, was shared by both the great naval powers. Naval gun-crews on armed merchant vessels gave a good account of themselves. The Marine Corps covered itself with glory, as, throughout its history, it has ever done.

One great lesson the World War taught for all time, that, in case of need, the United States could and did produce a body of men, soldiers, sailors and marines, which, for individual gallantry and readiness to face danger, compared favorably with the best fighting men of the world. It also taught the necessity of better administration in Washington. The rank and file of the army and navy achieved gloriously, the departmental end left much to be desired.

LII

TRANSPORTING OUR TROOPS OVERSEAS

IN number of men moved, in distance of travel and in quickness of time, the U. S. Army Transportation Service set a world's record. In nineteen months, 2,075,000 men and 5,130,000 tons of supplies were sent overseas to France. Moreover, this was done at a time when enemy submarines were actively engaged in attacking the lines of communication. While it is undoubtedly true that the mere size of America's army was the decisive factor that ended the war, such an army would have been useless if it could not be transported. The fact that the transport system had risen to such efficiency that it was landing men in France at the rate of 300,000 a month was as decisive a factor as the news that 4,000,000 Americans were under arms.

When the United States entered the war, a small transport service to Panama and to the Philippines was all that existed. There were six vessels employed, and these were comparatively small craft. On November 17, 1918, there had been developed a transatlantic fleet aggregating 512 vessels, with a total deadweight of 3,251,000 tons, added to which must be reckoned an Allied cross-Channel service fleet with 104 vessels, of 311,000 tonnage.

The first movement of troops was slow. During the month of May, 1917, the first month of America's entrance

into the war, only 1,718 of army personnel were taken to France. In June this was raised to 12,000 and thereafter increased steadily until by the end of the year

FIG. 40. PORTS OF EMBARKATION IN AMERICA AND DISEMBARKATION IN EUROPE OF UNITED STATES TROOPS DURING THE GREAT WAR

187,800 troops and 7,000 marines had been embarked. This was an average of 30,000 a month for the second six months of 1917, an average, however, created largely by the fact that in the fall of 1917 the German interned vessels of 460,000 tons were taken over and added to the transport service. In the spring of 1918, the taking over of the Dutch vessels gave to the army an additional 300,000 tons.

Early in 1918, it became evident that transportation must be hurried. It had taken the United States eight months to transport as many men as England had transported in one month, or, to put the matter another way, during the time that America had taken to embark 200,000 men, the British Empire had sent 1,000,000 men, from points as far away as Canada, India, Africa and Australia.

In order to assist in this movement of troops, the British government sent many of her own troop transports and scoured the seas for available ships. Finally, 180 British vessels were engaged in transporting the American Army. This was speeded up as spring approached, when man-power would be needed.

In April, 1918, 117,000 troops and 1,400 marines were embarked. More went in May, and a still higher number in June. July exceeded all records, for in that month 306,000 troops embarked for France. By the end of October the 2,000,000 point had been reached.

Owing to the taking over of the German and Dutch vessels, approximately half the tonnage of the American transport fleet, 45 per cent of the American troops crossed the oceans under the Stars and Stripes, 50 per cent was transported on British ships, 3 per cent in Italian, 2 per cent in French craft, and 1 per cent in Russian vessels. Of the troops, approximately one half landed in England and one half in France.

Comparatively few of the soldiers landing in France went directly into action. As a rule, all soldiers had six months' training in the camps in America, two months' training camps either in England or France and one month on a quiet sector before being actually transferred to the firing line.

The cargo fleet was almost exclusively American, and its rapid increase was due largely to the activities of the Shipping Board. During the war, the merchant marine shipbuilding yards were increased in number from 61 to 200, the ship-building ways increased from 235 to 1,000 and the ships delivered to the Shipping Board by the end of 1918 were 592, with a deadweight tonnage of 3,423,495.

The railroads had a large part of the transportation work to do in the handling of men, not only to and from shipping ports, but to and from cantonments. During the period of America's participation in the war, over 10,000,000 men were thus handled, this figure dealing with large troop movements only, not with the movements of soldiers as individuals. In rough figures, these movements amounted to about five billion passenger-miles, or the transportation of five billion passengers for one mile.

Neither ancient or modern history shows any movements of troops which can compare with this. The great armies of the Persians had nothing more difficult to cross than a narrow strait. Hannibal was afraid to traverse the Mediterranean from Carthage to Rome and took his forces from the north shore of Africa via Spain, France and the Alps. Napoleon was afraid to ship troops by sea. Only, during the Russo-Japanese war, did the Japanese undertake to transport troops overseas, yet neither in such numbers nor for such distances.

Having got the men over in France, with the signing of the armistice came the necessity of bringing them home again. This, of course, was more difficult than taking them over, so far as numbers were concerned. There were two reasons for this. In the first place, there was no justification for asking British ships to aid in the returning transportation. This reduced the possible total troop capacity of American transports to 110,000 a month. With nearly 2,200,000 men in France, it would thus have taken 20 months of continuous transport movement, with the quickest possible turn-around, to bring the men back. The other difficulty was the lack of camp facilities at the transportation points in France.

In preparation for active service, as soon as the men arrived in France or England they were sent to training camps. But, after the signing of the armistice, these training camps were abolished. Moreover, after leaving the training camps, the men went to the front. The front, also, no longer existed. It was therefore almost impossible to avoid congestion at trans-shipment points, such as Brest. Moreover, the boys themselves were anxious to get home, and their relatives and friends were more anxious still. A twenty-months wait was inadvisable.

The American transport fleet was at once enlarged. The cargo fleet was turned into troop carriers, the navy assigned certain battleships and cruisers to transport service. German passenger ships were transformed for this work and vessels, under any flag, which would aid in the troop movement, were engaged. By these means the rate of return rose to 300,000 per month, and swift as had been the sending of the second million of men in 1918, the return of that million was swifter. This immense handling of troops, to and from France, moreover, was conducted with negligible loss of life. It was the most spectacular transportation in history.

LIII

THE POWER OF AMERICAN FINANCE

IN proportion to the length of time in which America was engaged in the war and to the number of soldiers engaged,— remarked the Economist — the United States spent more than five times as much money as any other nation. This was partly due to the fact that the American soldier received higher pay than the soldier of any other country, but it was still more due to the fact that America possessed no means for the handling of a large army before the war, that supplies cost more in America than anywhere else, and that labor, engaged on government war industries, was paid at an exorbitantly high rate. It may be added that there was reckless waste and wild extravagance.

In addition to this, the United States Government loaned to the Allies the enormous sum of nearly eight and a quarter billion dollars. This was divided as follows: Great Britain, $3,945,000,000; France, $2,445,000,000; Italy, $1,210,000,000; Russia, $325,000,000; Belgium, $210,000,000; Greece, $39,554,036; Cuba, $15,0000,000; Serbia, $12,000,000; Roumania, $6,666,666; Liberia, $5,000,000; and Czechoslovaks, $7,000,000. Loans after the war brought this total to ten billions of dollars.

The total direct war cost to the United States was about $22,000,000,000, or more than the total cost of running the Government of the United States for the whole of the Nineteenth Century. Of this sum, $14,000,000,000 was

listed as army expenditures. Toward the close of the war, American expenditures were over $44,000,000 per day. For pay to soldiers and officers alone, the money paid during the War was more than all the teachers of all the public schools of the United States would gain in five years.

The War Risk Insurance Bureau carried soldiers' insurance to the amount of twenty-five billions of dollars, more than one half the total of all other life insurance in the United States. By the end of the war, 80 per cent of the soldiers had taken out insurance. The average policy was $8,200. After-war neglect caused a loss of much of this.

American financiers played a large part in the helping of Europe's finances. At the close of 1918, American investors and bankers held foreign government obligations, issued since the war and at that time unpaid, of $2,100,000,000, more than one-half of which was British. Foreign private obligations of large denominations reached a figure of $500,000,000.

Not less important than the work of lending money was that of supplying Europe with food, though, of course it is to be remembered that this was in no sense charitable relief, but exports at high prices. Still, shipments of meat and fats for the two years 1917 and 1918 were 5,177,600,000 pounds; cereals and cereal products, including breadstuffs were 600,703,000 bushels. Owing to the fact that there had been no great increase in the number of slaughterable animals and that the wheat and corn crops had been below par, a large part of this food represented the voluntary sacrifice of the American people in the "meat-saving" and "wheat-saving" campaigns. During and after the war, immense quantities of food were distributed free in certain devastated sections.

As in the case of America's response to the fighting of the war, so in the case of the financing of the war, the response of the American people was prompt and decisive. The sum of $3,694,000,000 was raised by taxation in 1918, over $14,000,000 was raised by Liberty Loans and $834,253 by War Savings Stamps. Relief gifts which passed through official channels reached the height of $4,000,000,000, these being mainly Red Cross and the seven associations which co-operated in Welfare work. Unofficial relief work was estimated at $1,000,000,000. The excellent work of Herbert Hoover, in charge of much of this administration, made him one of the great figures of the war.

Not only was this the largest sum of money ever collected within eighteen months for war purposes, but it was also the largest sum per person of the population. Moreover, in spite of the fact that there were many foreign elements in the population, not only was there not any resentment against the collection of these huge sums, but they were subscribed voluntarily. In point of fact, all the Liberty Loans were oversubscribed. The American people who stayed at home showed, with their pocket-books, as notable a patriotism as the younger men who donned khaki and went overseas. Everywhere, and all the time, the individual American did himself proud. Tried by fire, the American character showed itself strong and fine.

Red Cross Work on the Firing Line.

Photos from Brown Bros.

Salvation Army Lasses working in a Shell-Swept Town Frying Doughnuts under Fire.

LIV

THE GERMAN PLUNGE IN PICARDY

THE winter of 1917–1918 upon the western front — the Military Expert resumed — was not marked by great activity. After the smash at Cambrai, by which reverse the British lost much of the ground they had so hardly won by the second phase of the terrible Battle of the Somme, both sides fell into a waiting position.

All winter long the Germans had been moving troops to the western front, preparing for a spring offensive; all winter long the Allies had been urging America to send troops. It was at this time that Great Britain sent ships to enable the transportation of troops, for, by January 1, 1918, less than 300,000 American soldiers had arrived and less than 100,000 were trained for the firing line.

The first appearance of American units on the fighting front was on January 31, in a quiet sector. On February 2, 1918, General Pershing sent an extremely sharp message of criticism to the effect that neither the officers nor soldiers arriving in France at that time were adequately informed of the most rudimentary principles of modern war. There was, he said, "an almost total failure to give instructions in principles of minor tactics and their practical application to war conditions. Officers, from Colonels down, are found ignorant of the handling of units in open warfare. No training whatever has been given in musketry efficiency." This condition necessitated longer periods of

training in France, under Allied officers, than had been expected. It delayed the entrance of American soldiers to the firing line. This was not due to unwillingness on the part of American soldiers to learn nor officers to teach, but rather that the superficial training deemed sufficient in the camps on this side was inadequate for the rigorous urgencies of war. The profession of arms is highly technical and good officers can only be secured by years of intensive training.

The increase in transportation in February, 1918, heartened the Allies, and when this was again enlarged in March, hopes rose higher. It was felt that a crisis was approaching. The Kaiser had let it be known that he expected a decisive victory in the coming offensive and German officers, taken prisoner, admitted that Germany's greatest effort was to be made before America's entrance into the war had any effect.

America, at that time, had been in the war a year, but her military aid had been less than nothing. But — and this was the most significant fact of that great plunge which was a-preparing in Picardy — the Kaiser knew that he must win before America was on him. If that last drive failed, the American sword would be at his throat. There was little time to lose. Highly significant was the first American list of casualties, published on March 15, 1918, showing that, since the arrival of the first contingent in France, 136 men had been killed in action. This was very few, but it showed that American participation was beginning.

The plunge which was intended to save Germany, and, if possible, to win France, began on March 21, 1918, with the avowed intent of breaking through to the English Channel by the Somme, through Peronne and Amiens, thus cut-

ting in two the Allied lines, isolating most of the British Army and all of the Belgian and Portuguese armies in the north. It was perilously near to success. The Germans reached to within 46 miles of the Channel and were only six miles from Amiens.

The Germans struck from the three main points of Cambrai, St. Quentin and La Fère. The concentration of forces was three to one against the Allies, although the strength of the Allies along the whole western front was larger than that of the Central Powers. Nine German divisions were hurled upon three British divisions at one point, eight against two at another. The concentration of artillery was enormous, shellfire (probably from naval guns) reaching as far as 18 miles behind the British first-line trenches. At one point, near Itancourt, 100,000 men were massed for assault on a front of 2,000 yards, the most powerful man-power concentration of the whole war.

Regarded as a battle it was marvellously successful. In four days the Germans had gained 500 square miles of territory, they had taken over 50 miles of first-line trenches and had passed beyond Combles and Peronne. In the next two days, they pushed beyond Albert, Chaulnes, Roye and Lassigny. By March 29, Montdidier had been captured. Nearly 1,000 square miles of territory had been gained in eight days. (See Fig. 43.)

Regarded as an effort to end the war, it must be regarded as a failure. The inability to take Amiens, the slowing up of the push from March 26 to March 29, and the manner in which the British and French armies co-ordinated the retreat, showed clearly that while Germany had won ground she had failed utterly in her attempt to cut the line.

And the Americans were landing at the rate of several thousands daily.

On March 28, by general agreement of the Allies, General Foch was made Generalissimo of all the Allied Armies in France. This would automatically place him in command of the American troops, but General Pershing knew that the spirit of the American soldier was thirsty for a more direct action. On the day of Foch's appointment, he called and said:

"I came to say to you that the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops if they were engaged in the present battle. I ask it of you, in my name and the name of the American people. There is at this moment no other question than that of fighting. Infantry, artillery, aviation — all that we have are yours to dispose of as you will. Others are coming which are as numerous as will be necessary. I have come to say to you that the American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle in history."

In an official reply on March 31, the French War Council accepted the offer in the following terms:

"The French Government has decided to accede to the desire expressed by General Pershing in the name of the United States Government. The American troops will fight side by side with the British and French troops, and the Star-Spangled Banner will float beside the French and English flags in the plains of Picardy."

Without delay, American troops were withdrawn from quiet sectors and from training camps, and were hurried as rapidly as possible to points where the British and French needed re-enforcements, the American troops being brigaded under allied commanders.

That same day, March 31, occurred the great German failure in Picardy. This was the second phase of the German plunge, which had for its main objectives the taking of Arras, Vimy Ridge, the trenches in front of Lens and those in front of La Bassée, the latter only as a base for further advance. The towns to be reached — according to documents found on German prisoners — were Avesnes, Aubigny, Houdain and Bethune.

The bombardment for this push began on March 29, followed by terrible carnage in Roeux. The dominating points of Orange Hill and Telegraph Hill were taken March 30, but the British intrenched stubbornly and hung on with their teeth, as they had at Ypres. Efforts on the Vimy Ridge were met with defeat. The Canadians would not give way. Without the Vimy Ridge, it was in vain for the Germans to try an advance on the Lens to La Bassée salient, as the guns of Vimy could shower death upon advancing troops. The whole of this second phase, therefore, resulted in flat failure for the Germans. (See Fig. 43.)

The third phase, which the Germans had intended to be a forcing northward of the Avesnes-Bethune line — which they never won — was a stroke from La Bassée, Lille and the German camps before Ypres. The objectives were Bethune, Merville and Bailleul. As the main movement of the Second Phase had been ten days after the first phase, so the third was ten days after the second.

This push developed swiftly on April 9, its central point being Givenchy. It was as successful as the first phase. The Messines Ridge was enveloped and the town of Armentières taken by the 11th. Merville fell on the 12th, footing was secured on Messines Ridge on the 13th, the height of Neuve Eglise and the lower slopes of Mt. Kem-

mel were seized the same day and on the morning of the 17th, Bailleul came into German hands. This created two awkward German salients, instead of the one great forward sweep, this gap being caused by the failure of the Second Phase at Arras and Lens. (See Fig. 43.)

How much the Allies loked for American help at this time is seen in the official report of General Maurice, British Director of War Operations, when he said, "The British Army is playing the rôle which it has often played before. It is fighting a Waterloo while Blücher is marching to the battlefield. The British Army is under a terrible hammering, but, providing we can stand that hammering without breaking down, and providing Blücher is marching to the battlefield, there is no reason for discouragement."

The Fourth Phase was an attempt to take Ypres. From documents found on prisoners, the Allies knew that this was coming, and strong French re-enforcements were sent to aid the British hold the lines. Blücher, in the person of the American troops, was still too far away and too few in numbers to help the British; but Blücher, in the form of great, war-wise, fighting, poilu veterans, came marching on April 18 up the Flanders roads.

The big attack developed next day. The bombardment was intense, both with shells and gas. When the Germans charged, the British and French, who had held their places in that storm of death, met the advancing hosts with a terrible array of 75's and that killing trench mortar fire which the British developed to such perfection during the last two years of the war. The German losses were staggering, so staggering that even mass-drives in enormous numbers could not climb over their own dead.

On April 24, the German tanks — used for the first time

— supported heavy infantry attacks on Villers-Bretonneaux, and the Australians, holding that point, were compelled to give way. They rallied in the night, and without artillery preparation, decimated the German troops who were entrenching.

The most desperate feature of all these battles was the assault of April 25, 26 and 27 upon Mount Kemmel. Four divisions were thrown at the position in the foggy dawn of April 25. The shape of the hill was lost in the uprush of fragments of earth, fire and smoke from the explosions.

The French sector suffered the most heavily. The Germans drove a wedge between the French and English. Allied aviators, flying over Mt. Kemmel, could see, as late as midday, little swirls of the iron-gray troops around a tiny spot of blue — a handful of French resisting to the death. Long after the war was over, when prisoners were returned, nine French soldiers — all crippled or mutilated — reached their homes, the sole survivors of the troops isolated that day on Mt. Kemmel. A body of Scotch troops fared little better.

By the morning of the 26th — fighting having been continuous all the night — the French line gave back. In consolidating their gains, however, the Germans were exposed to a hurricane of Allied shell. By the next day, they had intrenched solidly, but the losses in taking Mt. Kemmel had been so terrible that the drive could not be pushed.

A thrust of vicious fierceness was made on the 29th and 30th against the British and French lines near Zillebeke and Ypres. The Germans succeeded in crossing the Yser Canal — which had witnessed so many sanguinary struggles — near Voormezeele. Mass-offensives attacked again

and again, but were driven back by the French and British fire. (See Fig. 43.)

French valor and British firmness held the line solid while the concentration of machine-guns and 75's exacted a terrible harvest. It was a black day for Germany. It was an equally terrible day for the Allies. The grim French poilu, the noisy British Tommy and the reckless Anzac bought delay with their blood, drop by drop. To hold a trench five minutes longer might mean a hundred deaths. They were given willingly.

Those heroic lives saved the day. The Fourth Phase of the German plunge, like the Second, had failed. Only the two salients at Bailleul and near Amiens had been won. The Kaiser might gaze longingly at the Channel, forty-six miles away; he could even, if he pleased, with a long-range gun, drop shells in the water. But he could get no nearer. The drive was stopped. And every day saw more and more Americans in France, more and more in the firing line. The handwriting was on the wall. The doom was near.

LV

THE LAST TEUTON OFFENSIVE

THE pause before the launching of the next phase of the great offensive — the Military Expert continued — was ominous. For just four weeks the military cloud hung broodingly. Every one knew, all along the battle front, that a second offensive, equal in strength to the First Phase of the Plunge in Picardy, was about to take place. No one on the Allied side knew where it would be. Foch, ever prudent, and realizing that the Germans had come to a deadlock towards the north, strengthened his line in Champagne. He did wisely. It was there that the blow was struck.

The line on the Aisne had been held by the Germans since their retreat after the Battle of the Marne. The opposite bank of the Aisne, with some lodgment on the further side, had been held by the Allies for the same length of time.

At dawn on May 28, after a three hours' bombardment, mainly of gas shells, the expected avalanche of men hurtled against a twenty-five mile front, with Soissons as one objective and the Marne bridge-head at Château-Thierry as the other.

The concentration was about four to one. Any attempt to hold the famous Chemin des Dames would have meant a terrible sacrifice, and modern war had shown that it was rarely possible to stem a powerful offensive in the first two

or three days. The Chemin des Dames meant much in the days of trench warfare, but the war of 1918 had become open warfare to a great extent.

The French fell back in good order, with losses far lighter than might have been expected. The ground was suitable for rear-guard actions, and the pursuing troops suffered heavily. By 10 o'clock of the next day, May 29, Fismes was taken and with it the River Vesle. At Germicourt Wood a British battalion stayed and died to a man, some French territorials, who were with them, having less than a dozen survivors. A British cyclist battalion faced fourteen times its number before Fismes and was wiped out. French and British engineer officers met swift death trying to blow up the bridges on the Aisne, to delay pursuit.

A huge fleet of German tanks was driven against Allied position at Berry-au-Bac, without result. The heights held until the gradual retirement of the whole line forced the French to fall back also from there. On May 30, the Germans took Fère-en-Tardenois, Soissons was bombarded on May 27 and taken May 28. By May 30 the advance had reached as far as Château-Thierry, steadily slowing up as it went, and suffering from constant counter-attacks. (See Fig. 43.)

In these counter-attacks, an American machine-gun unit played a part, this unit being from the Marine Corps. On May 31, when the capture of Château-Thierry was imminent, these American machine-gunners were sent into the village, together with a group of French colonials. Château-Thierry was built on both sides of the Marne, which was spanned by a big bridge, while a small canal paralleling the river to the northward was spanned by a small

bridge. The Americans were to hold the bridge, the Colonials to attack the Germans.

The American machine-gun fire began hotly. The Germans wavered. The French colonials charged and drove the Germans from the town. The Germans returned in a tremendous mass-offensive, and the Americans were forced to hold the bank under a galling fire. They not only held it, but under their fire the bridge was blown up by French engineers. It was a small affair, so far as numbers went, but it was of importance as marking the limit of the German offensive in Champagne. It was also of distinct importance as showing that the Americans were able to handle themselves in a tight pinch with the coolness and quickness of seasoned veterans.

The Great Teuton Offensive, which the Kaiser had boastfully said would be the last and which Foch had grimly but silently determined should be the last, was not yet over. One more herculean effort was to be made, one more orgy of death, one more advance through a sea of blood. This was the Advance on the Oise.

There was no surprise possible in this. The Allies knew that the attack must come there. At Château-Thierry and beyond Montdidier, the two great German salients reached out like the jaws of a pincers. Paris was menaced by both. The Allies were being pinched together into a salient not forty miles across. Every foot of that ground was within easy shelling reach of the naval guns. Compiègne was the main first objective. Paris, although not actually threatened, was very near.

With all element of surprise eliminated, the Allies knew that they must expect mass attacks in such force as to make the lines impossible of defence. Since wave after

wave of men was to be expected, line after line of defense was established, each to be lightly held with men, but terribly held with artillery. If men must die to save France, Foch would not flinch from setting them at the task, but never a man would he set needlessly. Let the Lewis guns and the 75's do the work of riflemen.

When an attack is known in advance, and the defence has time to prepare its artillery fire to cover in shell and flame every inch of that territory, it spells carnage, almost massacre. It means that ten attackers must die for every defender's life lost. It means the annihilation of whole battalions when an ordinary engagement means individuals. It means that advance can only be made when the defenders are glutted with slaughter and the guns are over-hot from dealing death.

This last Teuton blow of June 9 on a twenty-mile line, extending from Montdidier to Noyes, was the climax of ruthless sacrifice. So fearful was the quintuple curtain of fire through which the German shock troops had to pass, that after four hours of never-ceasing charge, the allied troops were still fighting in the advanced zones. The first day won for the Germans a penetration of three miles, but at what a cost! The second day was as dreadful. Uncounted masses of men were hurled forward to take Compiègne. Night fell with the outer defences of the city unscathed. Said Foch:

"I am satisfied!"

He had reason to be. At 11 A. M. of the third day of this Battle of the Oise, the generalissimo ordered a counter-thrust. The French tanks lolloped along, the French infantry fairly danced after them and the whole German line was swept back. The German replied with an attack

on the centre, the French with a flanking movement to the left.

The fourth day, June 12, saw attack and counter-attack meeting midway. The slaughter on both sides was fearful. On the fifth day the German commander, with great skill, managed to get close to Compiègne, but the counter-attacks forced him to abandon the position he had taken. The evening of the fifth day told its definite story. The drive in the Oise Valley was stopped. Thus ended the sixth and last phase of that great offensive which had begun on March 21 in Picardy. (See Fig. 43.)

The Americans in the firing line of these two great defences were few in numbers but it is difficult to over-emphasize their psychological importance. As the Germans had been taught to think of the English as "contemptibles," so they were told that the Americans were "amateurs, who won't know how to fight." The Marines taught them better. The French officers and men, with whom they fought side by side, had nothing but praise for the gallantry and dash of the American boys. In the capture of Belleau Wood the courage and daring of the Americans was so spectacular and splendid that the French in recognition of the heroism shown, re-christened that patch of forest the "Bois des Marines."

It would be unjust to lay too much stress on the fact that the capture of the village of Cantigny on May 28, 1918, and the capture of Belleau Wood on June 8, 1918, were small affairs. Expressed in the terms of the number of men engaged and the amount of territory won, they were small; expressed in war values, they were large.

Germany had feared America theoretically, but after Belleau Wood, that fear had grown to fright. An Ameri-

can victory meant panic — the Germans knew that millions of men were under arms, and millions more were coming. Their only hope was to win victory before the Americans came, or to find that the Americans were poor fighting men. They found, instead, that the Americans had already come, and that, as fighting material, they need give place to no soldier in the world.

At Cantigny, the attack was made behind French tanks, under a combined French and American barrage, and lasted only thirty-five minutes.

Belleau Wood was another matter. The marines were opposed by crack regiments, the German defences were strongly held, the fighting was stern, the artillery reply was deadly. Yet the American artillerymen handled their French guns with extraordinary skill and quickness (they beat the French record), and the barrage that they laid down was so dense that Germans who surrendered said that during the three days they had not been able to get any food or supplies.

If the fury of the artillery staggered the Germans, the vim and the dash of the marines staggered them even more. Before the Marines began their splendid work, the French and British hoped and expected to win the war; after that day, they knew.

At Belleau Wood, the Americans took 311 prisoners, two 77-mm. German field pieces, and eleven machine guns, the first enemy artillery won by Americans during the war. It was significant that Clemenceau in complimenting the American troops on this action, declared it to be "peculiarly American in conception, plan and execution." It was an operation planned by American commanders and executed by American soldiers unaided by any other troops.

LVI

THE HUMAN WALL AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

FRANTIC appeals for peace — which even the Teuton leaders called the "tempest for peace"— was the signal evidence of Germany's realization that her defeat was at hand. She had tested out the fighting qualities of the American troops, and suffered severely in the testing. She had seen, moreover, that endless stream of ships landing monthly 300,000 fresh, young, eager soldiers on French shores, and knew that they tolled the knell of every German hope.

With Foch as generalissimo, minor counter-offensives had begun to ripple all along the line. This process, known as "nibbling," was not for the purpose of keeping the enemy anxious and alert. It was not a series of reconnoissances in force. It was, rather, a gradual acquisition of strategic points from which, later, a great offensive could be based. It was the customary French strategy of the coiled spring. Foch was getting solid footing under his feet from which to thrust. Between April 15 and June 15, seventeen of these minor counter-offensives were carried out. Among these actions in which Americans participated at this time were Seicheprey on April 21, 1918, Halloville on May 4, Cantigny on May 28, Veuilly-la-Poterie on June 6, and Thiaucourt on June 15.

Upon the definite failure of the sixth phase of the of-

fensive on June 13, Foch began to take larger nibbles, which might almost be called bites. These operations consisted in the formation of two small salients, followed by cross-fire and the reduction of the salient. This became known as Foch's "pincer" tactics. Thus June 15 saw Allied advances on strategic positions at three points of the line, north of Bethune, at Villers-Cotterets, and south of the Aisne. On June 17, the heights near Hautebraye were stormed. Strong positions on the Aisne were taken, June 18.

The Americans advanced north of Château-Thierry, on June 21, and, two days later, the British won important small victories at Bucquoy and Morlancourt. German defences south of Torcy were captured by French and Americans together on June 26. The British nipped off a strong piece of the Lys salient on June 27 and next day penetrated a mile on a three-mile front to secure a military highway near Merville. The Americans joined with the French to drive the Germans out of their hardly won defences south of Montdidier on June 29.

July opened with the British capture of Bouzincourt, and July 2 witnessed the brilliant minor action at Vaux in which the Americans notably distinguished themselves. Independence Day was signalized by a joint American-Australian attack which captured Hamel and its trench defences, a point so valuable that it allowed four further days of slow but continuous biting into the German line. The French drove a wedge into a strongly defended position at Villers-Cotterets on the 8th and advanced near Antheuil on the 9th while Corcy, after two days' fighting, fell on the 11th. Castel, three miles north of Cantigny, was taken on the 12th and on July 14 the Germans suf-

fered a sharp reverse in the Ypres region, the British advancing their front to the east of Dickebusch Lake.

Thus the matters stood on the evening of July 14, the night before the day which was to be the beginning of the end. If Germany were to stave off the impending blow, she could do so only by a decisive victory, taking some important point, either Ypres, Arras, Amiens, Compiègne, Paris, Rheims, Epernay, Chalons, Verdun or Nancy; or else, selecting the hated Americans and crushing their new-made reputation by a stinging defeat.

Again Foch guessed right. He believed that the drive would be made on Château-Thierry. Already the German long-range guns had dropped shells in Paris, from a distance of 72 miles (the longest range ever known to ordnance up to that time), and every additional mile nearer Paris would hearten the morale of his troops.

It is inaccurate to speak of this Seventh Phase of the German Offensive as a drive at Paris. It was nothing of the kind. It had not the remotest relation to the investment of Paris. If, in the first drive in 1914, with all the German armies gathered in a short line from Meaux to Verdun, von Kluck did not dare a direct investment of the French capital, how could a single German Army, already too far advanced in a dangerous salient, attempt to reach out further?

Greatly though one might wish to think so, the American defense at Château-Thierry was not in any sense a defence of Paris. It was graver than that. It was an attack on America. The defenders of Château-Thierry had something far more important to hold than the outposts of the French lines. They were holding the outposts of the United States.

It is also highly inaccurate and misleading to speak of this part of the German offensive as the "Second Battle of the Marne." It was a phase of the great offensive which began on March 21, and which reached as far north as the sea. It was as important as any of the preceding six phases, but not more important. Ludendorff, tempted by his nearness to Paris and Rheims and baited by the reputedly small numbers of the Americans facing him, staked his last throw on punishing the United States troops at Château-Thierry, and isolating Rheims. He wished to show that sectors held by Americans could not resist German mass-attack. The ensuing three days are better known as The Battle of Château-Thierry.

For over a month Ludendorff had been trying to isolate Rheims. Little by little he had driven at the terrain to the south of that city, until he had succeeded in putting Rheims in a horse-shoe shaped salient, with German guns to the west, north and east. More, the salient had begun to close in its arc, and gun-fire could be directed also from east-south-east and west-south-west. Rheims was in a highly dangerous position.

At 6 A. M., of July 15, 1918, aching to capture Rheims and desirous of smashing the Americans, Ludendorff struck on a sixty-mile front, using forty-two divisions in the shock attack. He did not strike to the west, towards Paris, but to the east, towards the rear of Rheims. Château-Thierry was the extreme end of his right flank, and his attack followed easterly along the river to Dormans, thence north-east around Rheims and continued due east to the Argonne Forest. (See Fig. 41.)

The central part of the attack was towards Epernay, and the disposition of the German divisions revealed the double

tactics that Ludendorff was employing. If the Americans weakened on the right flank, he had twenty divisions in reserve to hurl through Château-Thierry, flanking and curling up the Americans in the typical German maneuver, at the same time flanking Epernay and strengthening his frontal thrust. Should the line weaken on his left flank, toward Pourcy, the same divisions could be hurled across the Rheims salient, cutting off that city. The official objective of the Germans was the line Château-Thierry — Courboin — Montigny — Epernay — Chalons.

The flank attack against the Americans may be considered first. The United States troops held the line along the River Marne from Château-Thierry eastwards to Jaulgonne. By 10 o'clock in the morning, 15,000 of the Guards succeeded in crossing the river in the teeth of heavy American fire, the principal crossings being at Fossoy and Mezy. The Guards assaulted the American trenches with great fury and gallantry. But, as the work of the Americans in the war had shown (and as General Pershing had always stated) the lads from the New World were more French than English in their mode of fighting. They preferred to charge than to defend. At noon a counter-attack was ordered. An American tornado went "over the top." The Guards were staggered by the blow. They hotly contested every inch of the way, but, by midnight, there was not a German — except a big batch of prisoners — left alive on the south bank of the Marne between Château-Thierry and Mezy.

Next day — though artillery fire both of gas and high explosive shells was continuous all night — Ludendorff attacked in even greater force, giving special attention to the Americans. The bridges across the Marne at Gland, east

of Château-Thierry, and at Mareuil, near Dormans, were the centers of the two offensives. The slaughter was appalling, yet the attack near Château-Thierry failed utterly and the bridge at Mareuil was not gained until late in the day.

Meantime, further to the east, the Americans and French together had been beaten back at Condé. St. Agnan fell into the hands of the enemy. Foch ordered a counter-attack, and, next day, St. Agnan was recaptured. Honors were even.

Still further to the east, the two days' fighting yielded the Germans two miles more of the Marne bank, but they were still far from Epernay. Further to the north, the Italian-French troops gave back at Bligny, but only for the distance of one mile. On the further side of Rheims, at Prunay, south-east of that city, the Germans gained two miles, bringing the salient, on the third day, to the extremely dangerously narrow width of eleven miles across.

Ludendorff had launched his fullest force. He attained not a single one of his objective. Rheims stood firm. The human wall at Château-Thierry had not only not been broken, but, along the whole line, it was the only one which had not given back an inch. The Germans could win neither the town, the bridge-heads nor the railroad on the south bank of the Marne.

The center, of course, had suffered most, but even there, Ludendorff's advance was small. Had he been able to throw his full force straight at Château-Thierry, a certain giving back would not only have been probable but would have been wise. This mass-tactic was impossible, for the tip of a salient gives no room for the handling of enormous bodies of troops. Ludendorff did throw forward every

man and every gun which the space would allow, and he picked his crack regiments in the assault against the Americans. It was all in vain. As the French at Verdun, so the Americans at Château-Thierry, shouting their battle-cry of "Lusitania," grimly vowed that the Hun should never pass. They kept that vow.

"If the Americans had given way," asked the War Correspondent, "wouldn't that have opened the road to Paris?"

"Not in the least," the Military Expert answered. "As long as Compiègne and Rheims were holding, a further extension of the Château-Thierry salient would have been utterly foolish. Ludendorff did not even try such straetegy. Note that he did not attack to the west of Château-Thierry at all. He drove at the eastern wall of the salient. Rheims was the main object, with the sidewise thrust at the Americans a secondary consideration. Even if the Americans broke, he would not dare throw forward his flank too far, for there were two Allied Armies to the west which could pounce down on him. He never had the chance, however. The human wall at Château-Thierry held like a rock."

LVII

THE FIRST SMASH BACK

FOR some little time — the Military Expert continued — Foch had been nibbling at the enemy's lines. When the utter failure of the Crown Prince's armies, operating under Ludendorff, had been demonstrated at Rheims and his crack troops had hurled themselves in vain against the Americans at Château-Thierry, the great Allied commander knew that the time had come to strike. It was not for nothing that he had gained the reputation of knowing the precise instant for a counter-blow — an invaluable gift in a great general.

On the night of July 17, when the Battle of Château-Thierry had come to its close, there were three German armies and three Allied armies facing one another in the deep pocket running from a little west of Soissons through Château-Thierry to Rheims. Holding Soissons was General von Hutier with the Eighteenth Army, thence southwards came General von Eben and General von Boehn with the Seventh Army; while from Château-Thierry through Oeuilly to Rheims was General Fritz von Below (not Bülow) with the First Army. Opposite von Hutier was General Mangin, with two American divisions; opposite von Eben and von Boehn was General DeGoutte with the American Marines; on the right flank of von Below was General de Mitry, with strong American support; opposite the main

First German Army was General Berthelot with British and Italian divisions.

Foch struck with all the element of surprise and struck

FIG. 41. REDUCTION OF CHATEAU-THIERRY SALIENT
The part played by the American troops is seen by noting their positions (in solid black), under Generals Mangin, DeGoutte and Mitry respectively.

hard. At 4:45 in the morning of July 18, 1918, without a single gun of artillery preparation, the French and Americans went forward along a thirty-mile front. These were the Mangin and De Goutte armies, and in accordance with Foch's pincer tactics, the flanks bore the brunt of the attack. The 1st and 2nd American Divisions were brigaded with French divisions in the first blow from Ambleny, six miles due west from Soissons.

Von Hutier was not only in force, but, realizing that this counter-blow might menace his retention of the impor-

tant point of Soissons, he moved up his reserves. Moreover, von Hutier's position was the strongest of all, for if a retreat were required, he had but a short distance to go, and his retirement could be of a character that strengthened his line. Yet within five days, by July 23, the heights above Soissons were all in Allied hands, opening the way to the recapture of Soissons, on August 2.

On the other flank, under DeGoutte, the 26th American division was doing itself credit. Operating just north of Belleau Wood — dangerous territory for military operations because of its availability for machine-gun nests — it took Torcy the first day and, not to be withstood, pressed vigorously onwards until it forced the enemy across the main highway running in a direct line from Soissons to Château-Thierry.

Near Château-Thierry itself, the Third Division, fighting with the French under de Mitry, pushed up across the Marne, forcing the Germans to retreat at that point also. Near Mont St. Père they straddled the Soissons-Château-Thierry road, effecting a junction with their own troops under DeGoutte. The Germans promptly fell back further, evacuating Trugny and Epieds.

Wisely considering that this easterly attack on the west curve of the Château-Thierry pocket would confuse German communications, Foch waited two days and then threw an equally heavy attack on the eastern curve of the pocket. He anticipated a strong resistance and the Allied troops at this point were in enormous numbers. It was small wonder that the Crown Prince was taken by surprise. The retreat was prompt. By July 24, the Italian and French detachments held the Fismes-Chatillon Road, and the British, under Berthelot, were plugging on ahead.

On that same day, July 24, the American 42nd Division relieved the 26th and fought its way beyond Epieds and through the Forêt de Fère. It was here that ten Ford cars, on each of which were two machine guns, spurted up a road suddenly at top speed and spit fire at the German machine-gun nests that lined the road. Then, finding a place to turn, they sped back, pouring out bullets at the same speed. Only two cars failed to get back. Thanks to this raid of the "Ford Cavalry," the American infantry moved up and took this position, which had been deemed so dangerous, almost without a casualty.

The fighting all along the line was constant and deadly, but the Germans had no chance. Buffeted first on one side and then on the other, the jaws of the pincers closing alternately as Mangin thrust from the west and Berthelot from the east, the Crown Prince's armies retreated, and on their heels, came the Americans. And, wherever the Americans were to be found, Ludendorff tried his best to inflict defeat.

Sergy changed hands nine times in 24 hours — and no words can be more significant of bitter fighting than those. Two fresh divisions of the Guards were thrown against the Americans on the Ourcq, but the Americans would not be driven back. Seringes changed hands five times in one day. The extraordinary speed and mobility of the French light artillery fairly dazzled the Germans.

In the Meunière Woods, American storm-attacks on an enemy position were repulsed six times. Nightfall found the Germans still defiant. Concentrated artillery fire on that position rendered it an inferno, but when the Americans stormed next day, the Jaegers were still there. It took six hours with the bayonet to clear those machine-

gun nests. Many a score American lives were lost on that day.

On the 2nd and 3rd of August, the Germans were in full retreat, with French and Americans in pursuit. August 4 was notable for the bitter fighting on the outskirts of Fismes, and an American division undertook the capture of the town. It was a difficult and costly piece of work, but in the evening the town was officially announced as having been captured by the Americans.

It is not to be supposed that the clearing of the Château-Thierry pocket was accomplished by the American Army acting alone. The figures show that of the armies employed in this counter-offensive 68 per cent were French troops, 14 per cent British, 12 per cent American, and 6 per cent Italian. But, at the same time, the United States should be proud to remember that the Americans were definitely placed at all the crucial points, and there is no doubt that this was purposed by Foch. It also was clear that they made good. General Mangin, on August 7, issued the following order of the day:

"Officers, Non-commissioned officers and Soldiers of the American Army:

"Shoulder to shoulder with your French comrades, you threw yourselves into the counter-offensive begun on July 18. You ran to it as if going to a feast. Your magnificent dash surprised and upset the enemy, and your indomitable tenacity stopped counter-attacks by his fresh divisions. You have shown yourselves to be worthy sons of your great country and have gained the admiration of your brothers in arms.

"Ninety-one cannon, 7,200 prisoners, immense booty, and ten kilometers of reconquered territory are your share

of the trophies of this victory. Besides this, you have acquired a feeling of superiority over the barbarian enemy against whom the children of liberty are fighting. To attack him is to vanquish him.

" American comrades, I am grateful to you for the blood you generously spilled on the soil of my country. I am proud of having commanded you during such splendid days and to have fought with you for the deliverance of the world."

LVIII

SEIZURE OF THE HINDENBURG LINE

THE full weight of the British Army was hurled upon the German front on the Somme, on August 8. It was an utterly unexpected surprise, carried out on a foggy morning without artillery preparation but aided by hundreds of the little whippet tanks which the British had found of greater service than the big tanks of two years before. In this thrust at the German line, the British penetrated the enemy lines to a distance of fifteen miles in two days, capturing 36,000 prisoners and uncounted quantities of guns and ammunition.

Nothing could more clearly show the character of the change in warfare produced by Foch's offensives than the fact that both in the pursuit of the Germans to the Vesle and in the British counter-blow on the Somme, French and British cavalry were employed in considerable numbers.

On the right flank, the French also struck in force, leaving an unassailed sector between, another of the pincer tactics of Foch. Montdidier was taken on August 10 and, the Germans having been stubborn in holding the outskirts, French cavalry and fast French tanks turned what had been an orderly German retreat into a panicky rout. The French were madly eager to continue the pursuit, but the officers held firm to the plans laid down by Foch.

It soon became evident that Foch's tactics of the pincers

were not only to be applied on a small scale but in a larger measure. Thus the clearing out of the Germans from the Château-Thierry salient, which may be said to have ended with the capture of Fismes, on August 5, was followed by the British thrust in Picardy, on August 8. Two days of this left a narrow German salient at Montdidier, which the French nipped off. In order, however, to be able to create another such salient, it was necessary for the British — with the French on their southern flank — to keep steadily pressing on. The line steadily grew in length until the battle was raging along a front of thirty-five miles. The important town of Albert was captured August 22, over 3,000 prisoners being taken on that day alone.

The pressure was steady and relentless, so steady that the Germans did not have time or opportunity to re-form. It was a hasty and disordered retreat. The Germans were hurrying to get back out of France. Thiepval, the dominating point north of Albert was one of the points most hotly contested, and on the New Zealanders fell the heaviest part of the work. Yet Thiepval was taken on August 24, and the heights above the town on August 28, the Welsh playing a sensational part in their capture. Bapaume fell on August 30, and Peronne, taken by the Australians, on September 1. (See Fig. 43.)

The disordered retreat became more acute when, on September 3, the British smashed the Drocourt-Quéant line, the latter point having been won by British naval brigades. Evidently the Germans had believed that this line could not be broken quickly and made a desperate stand. The German counter-barrage was declared by artillery experts to have been the heaviest in the whole history of the war. Numbers of whippet tanks smashed the wire defenses

and fast motor machine guns dodged here and there like terriers in a pit of rats.

The advance, unhalting, relentless, magnificently co-ordinated, rocking from point to point, with every regiment, Scotch, Irish, English, Welsh, Canadian, Anzac, covering itself with fame, reached the outer defenses of the famous Hindenburg line on September 13. The all-important points of Douai, Cambrai and St. Quentin lay before them. If these three points could be taken, especially St. Quentin, the German retreat upon a still vaster scale would be forced. The loss of St. Quentin meant the loss of Picardy.

To the Fourth British Army under General Rawlinson, and the First French Army under General Debeney came the honor of being the first to straddle the Hindenburg line. This assault was far more like German than Allied tactics. It was a typical mass-assault, preceded by a terrible artillery fire. For several hours it was touch-and-go, but stubborn fighting won for the British and French two points across the famous and much vaunted line, at Villeret and Holnon. A violent counter-attack the following day was not successful in dislodging the Allied troops from their hardly won positions.

As soon as the British penetration was sufficiently deep in Picardy, Foch ordered the other jaw of this pair of pincers to advance on the Oise. Mangin's Army, preceding its advance with a vicious night of drumfire, advanced from the minor strategic positions that "nibbling" had secured upon the Oise plateau. On August 21, the famous Dreslincourt massif was abandoned, the enemy being demoralized. Lassigny was taken on August 22. Fresnoy, near which were the complicated entrenched defenses of Roye, fell on August 26, after two days of fighting in water to the

waist along the marshes of the Avre. Roye itself, a big German base of supply, came into Allied hands on August 27.

To the north, the army of Debeney took Chaulnes, thus releasing a spring which had held back the British right. Noyon was taken on August 28. Cavalry raids and tank dashes took the French across the outer defenses of the Hindenburg line at these points as early as September 1, but no attempt was made to assault the main line or hold it.

The wanton destruction by the Germans of every place they evacuated was without a parallel in warfare. Every house that could give shelter was wrecked, all the inhabitants of the villages had been deported, the fruit trees had been girdled so that the French peasantry should suffer for years after the war, wells were poisoned, sewerage and drainage systems blown up, churches — and especially the chancels of the same — deliberately ruined, the roads and paths were sown with underground mines, canal locks were rendered useless, every available piece of wood was burned so that the advancing troops should not have fuel and that the returning villagers might freeze in the ruins of their homes during the coming winter.

A German official message declared with pride that "the Allies will find for winter only ground completely bare and devastated," "the abandonment of the sector was prepared with our customary care and we have been able to take away everything that would be of any use to the adversary." The statements were literally true. The only objects that were not stolen were those that were too big to move and these were scientifically destroyed. Looting and scientific rapine were never more thoroughly carried out.

This was not only the German vengefulness of destruction, it was also the vindictiveness of despair.

"It is worthy of note," remarked the Economist, "that this deliberate wrecking of industry is new to the world. Germany out-Heroded Herod in this economic massacre. One may pardon excesses in the heat of a battle, one may excuse levies on a country for the support of troops, however outrageous they be, but to prepare for suffering and devastation that shall injure a civilian population for years after peace is signed, is a malevolent and calculated ferocity without a parallel. The Germans created a new desert, a Sahara of destruction, which is even more awful in peace than in war. In a devastated area of 6,000 square miles, 250,000 buildings were destroyed needlessly with all their contents, a loss of $6,000,000,000. Every agricultural implement was broken, every fruit-tree ruined, every farm animal slain, every machine in every factory either broken or carted away. The Germans did not only make war on their enemies but on the generations yet unborn, though the world might be at peace. The evil that they did lived after them, and they wanted to have it so. Vengeance has never taken on a more hideous form."

LIX

THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY, AT ST. MIHIEL

THE first Americans to fight in France were volunteers in the Foreign Legion. The Stars and Stripes was carried by a small detachment during the first weeks of the war. These heroes formed no part of the American army, but they did represent the American spirit. Over 200 had volunteered before the end of August, 1914. When America entered the war the survivors of this little band perforce joined the American Army, but the flag they carried became a part of the war glories of France. It was presented to the Republic on July 4, 1917, and accepted by President Poincaré in a historic ceremony. The flag hangs in the Hall of Honor of the Musée de l'Armée.

When, in 1917, the first American troops — marines and regulars — arrived in France, they were associated in small units with the French in order to get some training in modern war. Presently, as their numbers increased, regiments began to take their place in the line under French division commanders. On April 28, the First Division took its place on a sector northwest of Montdidier, serving under a French corps commander. More than a year later, on July 1, 1918, the first American Army Corps in France was organized, serving under a French Army commander, this corps consisting of veterans, the 1st and 2nd Divisions of

regulars and the Marine Corps Brigade. By July 13, three army corps had been formed, though largely on paper, not even the commanding officers having been chosen.

The next move was the announcement, on August 7, that the various branches of the armed troops of the United States, such as the Regular Army, National Guard and National Army would all become known as the American Army. This was preparatory to the organization, on August 10, of the First American Field Army, under the command of General Pershing. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Army corps, respectively, were (at first) under Major Generals Liggett, Bullard, Wright, Read and Bundy respectively. Under the American system of organization a division consisted of 30,000 men, and a corps consisted of six divisions, two of which were reserves. Auxiliary troops, air squadrons, tank sections, heavy artillery and other branches attached to a corps brought the numbers to approximately 240,000 men.

In order for this First American Army to be able to take up its work, the divisions which had been operating under French commanders, especially Generals Mangin and De-Goutte, were first transferred to a sector east of Rheims. As this was to be the first opportunity of a new army to function entirely on its own basis, a quiet sector was chosen. This was ordinary prudence on the part of Foch, and was thoroughly understood and accepted by Pershing. It was in no sense a criticism of the Americans, still less a doubt of the American soldiers. It was rather a recognition that general officers — just as much as privates — have to learn their work by actual experience, and neither the corps commanders, division commanders or brigade commanders in the First American Field Army had received

the necessary training in handling masses of men and working together.

On August 30, or exactly seventy-three days before the end of the war, the Allies gave to the First American Army a sector of the battle-front as its especial responsibility. The corps and army artillery were provided by the French, not only in guns but also in personnel, in a manner which Pershing himself described as "very generous." The French Independent Air Force was placed under General Pershing's command and the bombing squadrons were British. With the American air forces, this made the largest assembly of aviators ever engaged in one operation on the western front. The tanks were French, and the tank crews were partly French and partly American. The infantry was mainly American, there being five American corps and two French corps, the 17th French and 2nd French Colonial. The medical department at the front was almost entirely American, functioning with French base hospitals. The Service of Supply was American through and through.

The line placed in the hands of the First American Army was almost forty miles long, running from Les Eparges, southeast of Verdun, south to St. Mihiel and east to Pont-a-Mousson, on the Moselle. On Pershing's left and operating with him was General Pétain, one of the three great French strategists, who alone, with Joffre and Foch, received the Marshal's baton.

The St. Mihiel salient had long been a menace to Verdun, but the four years of war had showed that it had no importance in the general battlefront. It could not be extended, without subjecting itself to the danger of being nipped by co-ordinated sorties from the fortresses of Verdun and

Toul. It served mainly as a base from which eastern attacks at Verdun were launched.

When, however, the German retreat had begun, the St. Mihiel salient became a nuisance rather than a danger. To advance northward without reducing it was to leave an in-

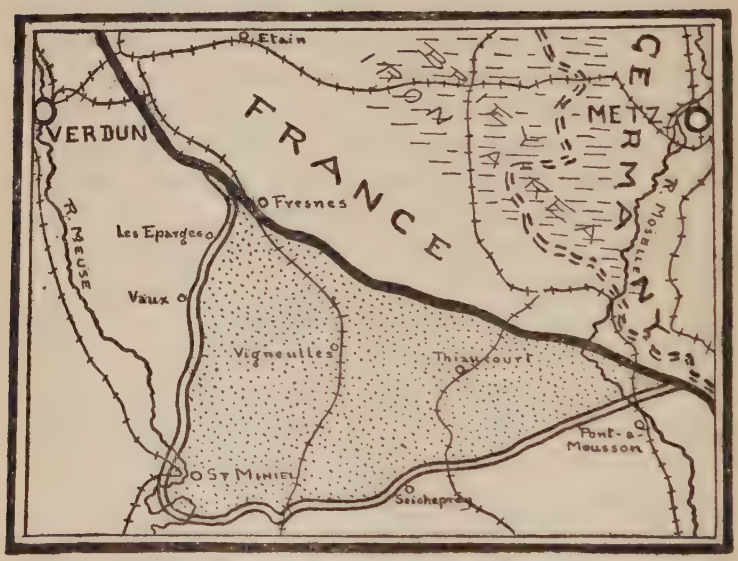


FIG. 42. CAPTURE OF ST. MIHIEL SALIENT
Double line shows front before all-American drive; solid black line, after the drive. Dotted area shows extent of gains.

trusive finger hindering a general advance along the battle-line. It was a typical case of a minor but important strategic move to be made by a newly-formed and enthusiastic army. If the salient were reduced it would greatly improve the line; if the offensive did not succeed, no resultant danger was to be feared.

Pershing's army, however, showed no signs of being new to its work. Every corps, division, brigade and regiment

moved forward like seasoned troops. After four hours of artillery preparation, the seven American divisions in the front line advanced on September 12. Accompanied by bands of wire-cutters, they went through the enemy's defences exactly on schedule, the American and French artillery keeping a fire which was timed to the second.

The Americans speedily found that, on the whole, the St. Mihiel salient was but lightly held, in contrast to its formidably constructed defences. In some places the troops were able to walk forward almost without opposition, though in others the fighting was fairly stiff. American casualties were light, but 16,000 German prisoners and 443 guns were taken. The success of the operation was remarkable in the fact that it showed American officers as well able to handle troops as the American soldiers had shown themselves able for the fighting. It was a far more signal success for the army than if the fighting had been more serious, for it revealed the perfect co-ordination and management of the intricate details of an army that marks a good commander. Pershing and his general officers, at the test campaign of St. Mihiel, demonstrated to General Pétain a high degree of military ability. As an army, the Americans had arrived.

Foch was quick to recognize this, and to realize that he had, in the First American Army, one of the most valuable assets to his side, not only as individual soldiers, but as trained troops. Accordingly the American army was moved — quietly and by night — to that bloody and death-swept area, the Forest of Argonne. Here, on the night of September 25, the Americans replaced the troops in that sector, and took charge of that front, which had long been inactive. The Third Corps rested on the Meuse, north of Verdun, as far as Malancourt; the Fifth Corps reached as

far as Vauquois, and the First Corps held from there to Vienne le Château.

The attack on September 26 in the Argonne was a very different matter from the closing in on St. Mihiel. Although the offensive was a complete surprise to the Germans, who had not the slightest reason to expect the sudden appearance of the Americans, they resisted stoutly and fought hard. Many villages were taken in the first dash, but the advance slowed up as the defence stiffened. Next day saw bitter fighting all along the line, enemy reserve divisions being hurried to the spot. On the third day, September 28, the advance was halted. The enemy's first and second line trench system had been taken, along a five-mile front, twenty-one villages had passed into Allied hands and several important strategic hills and points were quickly consolidated.

The engineers worked feverishly to enable the troops to hold their ground against the expected counter-attack which, as anticipated, developed the next morning. The lines held and the American resumed the offensive, advancing steadily and consolidating as they went. It was hard, dangerous fighting, in a thick wood with a terrain which favored the defense and where every little knoll and turn was crowned with a machine-gun nest. There were more American graves in the Argonne than anywhere on the battle-front, but the most savage counter-onslaughts of the Germans could not make the lines give way.

With the wiping out of the St. Mihiel salient and all its elaborate and little-used fortifications, and with the grim seven-mile advance through the Argonne forest, a new era dawned in the Great War. No longer would the Allies hold back and wait for the Americans to come, no longer

U. S. Official Photo.

Handley-Page type, equipped with Liberty motor.

French Official Photo.

Nieuport type, with double machine guns.

MODERN TYPES OF HIGH-SPEED COMBAT AEROPLANES.

could the Germans hope to get one last smashing blow home before the terrible overseas threat materialized. It had materialized and was growing fast. By October 9, still thirty-three days before the end of the war, a Second American Army was formed, the First Army then being placed under General Liggett, and the Second under General Bullard, the whole, of course, being directed by Pershing, who, later, was made a full General, a title not employed since the days of Grant. There was no hope of victory for the Germans now, but they hoped to stave off defeat until the approach of winter.

LX

THE HUNS ON THE RUN

THE same day that witnessed the result of the three-day advance in the Argonne, at the far south of the battle-line — continued the Military Expert — was also the date on which the last great push began at the north of the battle-line. Once again the pincers were set in operation, but this time they embraced the entire front. The story of the next forty-five days was that of the German retreat, and it closed with the armistice which ended hostilities.

The first crunch was made in the north. On September 28, while the British fleet bombarded the coastal defences from Nieuport to Zeebrugge, the Belgian army under King Albert and the Second British Army under General Plumer attacked on a ten-mile front, between Dixmude and Passchendaele Ridge, north of Ypres. They penetrated five miles in the first day and took vast stores of supplies. Next day, Dixmude and Passchendaele were taken, and Roulers fell to the Belgians on September 30.

The French army under General DeGoutte, which had entrained for the north, joined this sector on October 2 and launched toward Lille, Armentières being taken on October 9. Then these three great armies, together with the Fifth British Army to the south, under General Birdwood, launched a terrific offensive against the Germans in Belgium. In answer, the Germans fled. On October 16 the Germans commenced to march out of Belgium. They did

not even try to give battle. On October 17, Ostend, Zeebrugge, Bruges, Courtrai and Lille were abandoned.

The enemy made a desperate resistance to hold the line of the Scheldt, southward from Ghent, covering Tournai and Valenciennes. German machine-gun companies fought gallantly to cover the retreat of their armies and the advance cost the French, British and Belgians dear. Valenciennes did not fall until November 2, the honor falling to the Canadians. But November 4 was a day of victories, Les Quesnoy and Landrecies both being taken. The Germans fled in a rout. From November 6 onwards a change came over the scene. Belgian and British troops advanced with flags on their rifles and bands playing. The Germans slunk away ahead, not even trying to come to hand-grips. On, on the great march went, and on November 11 the British entered Mons, where they had begun the war more than four years before. And there, through Ghent and Mons, the war ended in Belgium.

The second section south was that covered by the First British Army under General Horne, and the 3rd British Army, under Byng, to which latter was attached an American division. Rawlinson and Debeney having straddled the Hindenburg Line on September 18, there was a chance for the next army to maneuver. On September 27, Byng, with the Americans, crossed the Hindenburg Line at several points. Rawlinson to the south moved up also. On September 29 Rawlinson crossed the Scheldt Canal and the Americans reached the suburbs of Cambrai. Using pincer tactics, Horne struck next, forcing the Germans to evacuate the Lens coal fields on October 3, and, by steady pinching out, Cambrai was taken on October 9. Douai had been captured a week before.

FIG. 43. THE LAST BATTLES OF THE WAR

Area ruled with horizontal lines shows the gains made by the Germans in their last offensive, and the numbers enclosed in squares show the order of the six phases, respectively. Dotted area shows the territory retaken by the Allies in the final push which caused the Teuton surrender. The chain line marks the limit of hostilities upon the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918.

The third section southwards was held by the Fourth British Army under General Rawlinson, and St. Quentin was the goal. St. Quentin with its triple-track railroad to Maubeuge and thence to Germany was perhaps the most elaborately defended point on the German line. It had been called the German Verdun. Rawlinson to the north and Debeney with the First French Army to the south, see-sawed on either side of the great defenses. There were eleven days of almost ceaseless fighting. It is by no means sure that the Allies could have carried St. Quentin, so powerful were its defenses, but the German retirement all along the line made a longer tenancy of that vital point impossible and on October 2 Debeney's troops occupied the city, from which the Germans had deported its entire population of 50,000 people. When Cambrai fell on October 9, these two groups of armies effected a close junction and advanced steadily, reaching as far as La Cappelle on the historic November 11.

The next section southward was held by Mangin with the Tenth French Army and Berthelot with the Third French. The objective point was Laon, the dominating point in Champagne. It was the one main point from which, immediately after the offensive of September 18, the Germans sought to rally. Five successive counter-attacks were all thrown back. Then the French offensive commenced. On September 28 Malmaison fell, giving Mangin control of the Chemin des Dames. Berthelot took Berry-au-Bac, the big German base of supply for that region, on October 17. By October 12 Mangin had secured the whole ridge of the Chemin des Dames, and the three impassable strongholds of St. Gobain massif, La Fere and Laon, were taken almost without firing a shot. The apex of the German front was

gone. The rest of the movement of these armies was a steady northward advance upon the fleeing Germans.

The next sector south was held by the Fourth French Army under Gouraud, and east thereof the First American Army, under Pershing. With the exception of St. Quentin, this was one of the most difficult points of the line. The natural defences were strong. In addition to the natural obstacles — the Aisne River and the Argonne Forest — there was also the strongly fortified line known as the Kriemhilde line, the last German line of defence south of Belgium.

The drive began on September 26 and advanced for three days, when the Americans had to dig in to resist violent counter-attacks. But Gouraud, realizing that it might be necessary to come to the aid of Pershing by diverting the concentrated power of the Germans, advanced rapidly and seized the controlling heights over Challerange. He need not have feared. The American line not only held but pushed forward and Apremont was taken.

On October 4 the Americans went over the Kriemhilde Line, though the Prussian Guards opposed them desperately. This line broken, the stern pursuit continued and the Americans with some sharp fighting won the heights commanding the Aire Valley, which they were hard set to hold when the Germans counter-attacked. But, on both sides, the French were advancing and the German fire slackened.

The Americans again took up the advance. The strategic point of Grand Pré was taken by Pershing on October 16, this being one of the main objectives in this sector, since it defended the apex of the Argonne Forest, which thus all passed into American hands. It took three days to win Hill 360 — by far the most bitter fighting of this

period being in this sector — but the Americans carried the height. One ridge rises after another in this region and each one was strongly held by crack German troops. But Pershing's men drove on. On November 2 there was an actual break in the German line when Buzancy was taken. These victorious days were bloody days, but the Americans worked forward until they reached Sedan. When 11 o'clock came on November 11, it fell with the most sudden silence on the American sector, for there the battle was raging heaviest.

At the same second, from Switzerland to the sea, hostilities in the Great War came to an end. In the dramatic words of Edwin L. James, a war correspondent who was in the American fighting line at the very moment: "They stopped fighting at 11 o'clock this morning. In a twinkling of an eye four years' killing and massacre stopped as if God had swept His omnipotent finger across the scene of world carnage and cried 'Enough!'"

And Philip Gibbs wrote of that night of November 11: "Last night, for the first time since August in the first year of the war, there was no light of gunfire in the sky, no sudden stabs of flame through the darkness, no long, spreading glow above the black trees where for four years of night, human beings were being smashed to death. The fires of hell had been put out. It was silent all along the front, with the beautiful silence of nights of peace. We did not stand listening to the dull rumbling of artillery at work, which had been the undertone of all closer sounds for fifteen hundred nights, nor for sudden heart beats at explosions shaking the earth and air.

"At 11 o'clock the order had gone to all batteries to cease fire. No more men will be killed, no more be mangled, no

more be blinded. The last boyhood of the world was reprieved. I listened to this silence which followed the going down of the sun and heard the rustling of russet leaves and the little sounds of night in peace and it seemed as though God were giving benediction to the wounded soul of the world." The fighting was over.

LXI

THE SIGNING OF THE ARMISTICE

WHILE November 11, 1918, saw the cessation of hostilities — said the Diplomat — the armistice was but a truce, not a peace. Almost a year was to elapse before the peace was made and ratified, more than a year before the ratification was formally recorded.

Throughout the war, the President of the United States had urged peace upon a basis of international agreement. From the beginning of the war to the entrance of the United States in the war, his peace efforts were continuous, both sides being treated impartially. As late as January 10, 1917, the Allies pointed out that the President of the United States treated the German claims as being on the same basis as the Allied claims. On January 22 the President stated that he was not in favor of a peace produced by victory and would deplore Germany's being vanquished. Even when forced to break diplomatic relations on February 3, and while attacking German militaristic authority, he said, "We are the sincere friends of the German people."

After diplomatic relations were broken, the President continued in the same strain. On February 26, he said before Congress: "I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America as long as I am able; . . . no course of my choosing will lead to war." In the War Message he repeated his assurance of friendship for the Ger-

man people. On January 22, 1917, he proposed a Monroe doctrine for Europe, with a peace secured and maintained by an international conference, thus speaking " for liberals and the friends of humanity in every country." He took under consideration a German peace offer that the Allies refused. In reply to a peace letter from the Pope, the President, on August, 1917, declared against " punitive damages, dismemberment of empires and selfish and exclusive economic leagues."

On January 5, 1918, Lloyd George declared fourteen points of peace. Three days later President Wilson declared his " fourteen points." These two declarations were almost alike except in one clause. Britain did not speak of the freedom of the seas, America did not demand reparation. At the same time, Wilson made it clear that his fourteen points might be secured by an " arranged peace," as " the day of conquest has gone by." On February 11, 1918, the President answered the Austrian peace offer with four essential fundamentals of peace, which expressed " our own desire for a new international order."

When the war was drawing to an end, Germany commenced to make new overtures for peace, taking the ground that President Wilson would be found favorably disposed to a " peace by diplomatic negotiation." The United States Senate, dissatisfied with this subtle suggestion to create a rift among the Allies, officially made a statement on the subject. This took the form of ringing protests, voiced by two chosen leaders for the Democratic and Republican parties, summed up in the words: " when victory shall have been achieved, it is properly time to talk peace."

None the less, the President continued his agitation for peace. This took the form of a declaration that a change

in the form of the German government was a prerequisite. Germany, staggering and on her last legs, grasped at the President's offer. Count von Hertling was dismissed and Prince Maximilian was appointed in his place, as he was known to be a "peace-at-any-price" advocate.

On October 5 Maximilian wrote requesting "the President of the United States to take in hand the restoration of peace" and "accepting the program set forth by the President in his message to Congress on January 8 and his speech of September 27, as a basis for peace negotiations. With a view to preventing further bloodshed, the German government requests the immediate conclusions of an armistice on land and water and in the air."

President Wilson at once commenced an interchange of notes, not altogether with the willingness of the Allies. On October 20 Germany sent a letter agreeing to the terms suggested, but definitely taking the ground of an undefeated nation. The Allies resented the tone and character of the note. England, France and Italy all declared it unsatisfactory. Public sentiment in the United States was equally strong. A clamor arose that a demand for "unconditional surrender" should be included in the American reply.

With the Allies and the American people thus agreed, there could be but one reply. Wilson's answer was clear and definite. It said, in part: "The President deems it his duty to say that the only armistice . . . would be one which should leave the United States and the powers associated with her in position to enforce any arrangements." It further turned over to the military commanders in France the conditions of such armistice and closed by saying, "If the Government of the United States must deal with the military masters and monarchial autocrats of Germany now,

or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender."

On Friday, October 25, the Crown Council of Germany held an important session, the Kaiser, the Crown Prince and the Chancellor being present, among others. Next day General Ludendorff resigned, and on October 27 Germany sent a note asking for the proposals of an armistice. This was not answered, as such details had been placed in the hands of Foch and the Supreme War Council in Paris. On November 5, America notified Germany that Marshal Foch had been authorized to receive German plenipotentiaries and to communicate to them the terms of the armistice.

Marshal Foch sent word that he would receive the surrendering German plenipotentiaries at Allied General Headquarters. The German officers arrived on November 8, at 6 A. M. They had crossed the lines the night before in automobiles bearing white flags and preceded by a trumpeter. They had been blindfolded and taken to the place where they spent the night.

The Commander-in-Chief of all the Allied Armies read the terms of the armistice. Mathias Erzberger, leader of the German delegation, asked for a suspension of hostilities during the consideration of the terms. Marshal Foch bluntly refused.

Next day, November 9, the Kaiser abdicated the throne, both as German Emperor and King of Prussia. The Crown Prince renounced the right to succession. The King of Bavaria had abdicated the day before, the King of Württemberg abdicated the day after, and the King of Saxony on November 11. During one week all the German crowns toppled in a heap, Princes, Grand Dukes and

Dukes abdicating right and left. On November 10 the Kaiser fled to Holland, having first sent forty large cases of treasure including all the crown jewels and nearly $1,000,000 worth of gold bullion ahead of him. He took up his residence in a castle near Amerongen. The Crown Prince also escaped to Holland and was interned on the island of Wieringen.

The German courier bearing, by airplane, the text of the armistice conditions, arrived at the German Headquarters at 10 o'clock A. M., November 10. Nineteen hours later, at 5 A. M. Paris time, the armistice was signed.

In brief, the terms were as follows: Cessation of war operations six hours after the signing of the armistice; the enemy must leave all invaded countries, Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg within 14 days, any troops remaining to be prisoners of war; the enemy to return within 15 days all people deported from those countries; the enemy must surrender 5,000 big guns, 25,000 machine guns, 3,000 flame-throwers, 1,700 airplanes; German armies must evacuate all territory, whether German or otherwise, left of the Rhine, within 31 days; the enemy must not destroy anything in the evacuated regions and must leave all provisions, stores and munitions; the enemy must not destroy railroads, bridges or highways; 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 cars, 5,000 motor lorries must be delivered within 36 days; the Germans must reveal the location of all mines, poisoned springs and wells in the evacuated territory; the Germans must accept the right of requisition by the Armies of Occupation, and the up-keep on these armies must be paid by the German government; the enemy must repatriate all prisoners of war: the German sick and wounded to be cared for by German medical staffs.

With regard to the eastern front the conditions were: All German troops in Austrian, Roumanian or Turkish territory must withdraw to Germany; all troops on the Russian frontier to be recalled; the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest to be renounced; the Germans must allow free access to Allied troops bringing relief to Allied or neutral countries. Evacuation of German East Africa also was demanded.

With regard to naval conditions, the requirements were: cessation of all hostilities and information as to the location of all German ships; naval and merchant marine prisoners to be returned without reciprocity; surrender to the Allies of all submarines within 14 days; surrender of six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight line cruisers and fifty modern destroyers, other vessels of the fleet to be disarmed and put under Allied supervision; information as to the location of mine-fields; freedom of access to the Baltic with the surrender to the Allies of all German forts and defense works; the blockade against Germany to continue; immobilization of all naval aircraft; the evacuation of all Black Sea ports seized by Germany and the surrender of all vessels without reciprocity.

The financial conditions for the armistice were: Reparation for damage done; restitution of the cash deposit in the national bank of Belgium; return of all monies, documents, stocks, shares touching either on public or private interests in all invaded countries; restitution of all gold taken from Russia; and the restitution of all monies taken from Roumania.

The armistice was for a period of thirty days with option to extend. Should the clauses not be carried out, any Allied power had the right to resume hostilities on 48 hours' notice.

Germany was given 72 hours in which to accept or refuse. Such was the German armistice.

Germany, indeed, had surrendered to save invasion, but Austria surrendered because Italy had conquered her with one of the most smashing defeats in the whole of military history. In one week 300,000 prisoners were taken, and the rout was so complete that the shattered army could not even retreat, the roads were so choked with fugitives and war material. For a week many men had no food but dead horses. The Austro-Hungarian army was not defeated, it was destroyed, annihilated. The Italian troops could have marched almost unopposed to Vienna.

On October 30 a group of Austrian officers appeared bearing a white flag. On October 31 they were taken to General Diaz' headquarters. Telegrams were exchanged and the armistice was signed on November 3, to go into effect November 4. It followed closely the lines of the German armistice (which had already been partly drafted in Paris) and, like it, created a buffer territory to be held by Allied troops.

During this period there had been serious rioting in Hungary. On October 28, in Buda-Pesth, a demand was made to have Count Karolyi appointed premier. On October 30, a large part of the army acclaimed the Hungarian National Assembly. On November 1, the reactionary Austrian premier, Count Tisza, was assassinated. On November 2, the Emperor Charles V abdicated as King of Hungary, and a republic was formally proclaimed on November 16 with Karolyi as governor.

Revolutionary movements of a much more confused character meanwhile were proceeding in Austria. One party sought a republic, another, union with Germany; a third, a

constitutional monarchy under the emperor. On November 11, however, Emperor Charles V abdicated the throne. The Austrian empire was no more. It became a republic, known as German Austria, which, during the discussion of the peace treaty, was changed, at the Allies' behest, to the Republic of Austria.

Turkey had surrendered even earlier. The dual success of the British in Mesopotamia and in Palestine had forced her hand. She surrendered on October 31, signing an armistice which, like that of Bulgaria, was practically an unconditional surrender. The armistice was signed on the Island of Lemnos in the Ægean Sea. In addition to general terms the armistice demanded: opening of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus; immediate demobilization of the Turkish army; surrender of all fortified points in the Turkish Empire; withdrawal of troops from Persia and surrender of all Turkish garrisons in Asia Minor; the right of the Allies to occupy and administer Armenia in case of disorder, and Allied occupation of Trans-Caucasia. On November 7 England and France issued a formal announcement stating that Turkish rule would not be re-established in the Mediterranean and that governments would be established deriving their authority from the free choice of the governed.

The surrender of Bulgaria was the result of a sharp and brief campaign which started on September 16, 1918. It was triple in character: British and Greek troops striking from Saloniki; Serbian and French troops striking from Monastir; and Italian troops thrusting from Albania. By September 23, the British took Doiran, and the Serbians had taken Prilep. Veles was taken by the Serbians on the 25th, thus giving them railroad control of Old Serbia, and on September 26 the British and Greeks captured the fort-

ress of Strumnitza. The military base of Uskub was entered on the 30th.

Seeing that every hour might mean the annihilation and destruction of the army, the Bulgarians forestalled the threatened massacre by offering terms of surrender on September 28, 1918. Hostilities ceased at noon September 30. On October 4, King Ferdinand abdicated the throne in favor of his son Boris, who was more popular. His first decree was one demobilizing the army. All Germans, Austro-Hungarians and Turks were required to leave Bulgaria within a month.

Thus the four Central Powers were brought to an unconditional surrender, the term "unconditional" being justified because no one of the four was given the opportunity to make a single protest to the terms of the several armistices. The defeat was absolute and clean-cut. The Allies were victorious the world over. Nothing remained but to force Germany to pay and pay dearly for the four years' ruin that she had brought upon the world, and so to arrange the final peace that she would long remain powerless.

LXII

SURRENDER OF THE FLEET

AN event unparalleled in naval history occurred when the whole German fleet, untouched, undamaged and in fighting trim, surrendered without a blow and placed itself in the hands of its enemies with as much docility as if the grim warships had been so many fleecy lambs.

The first vessels to surrender were twenty German submarines, who meekly gave themselves up to a British fleet thirty miles off Harwich at sunrise, November 20. The submarines were all on the surface, their hatches open and their crews on deck. Near the harbor, British submarine crews were put on board and the German crews were allowed to board two German destroyers which had come to take the sailors back to Germany. No demonstration was permitted. The submarines were surrendered and received in silence.

The great High Seas Fleet surrendered to Admiral Beatty and the Allied Armada off the Firth of Forth, Scotland, on November 21. There were five American battleships in the Allied columns, the *New York, Texas, Arkansas, Wyoming* and *Florida.* The line of warships, when anchored in the Firth of Forth, the night before the surrender, was fourteen miles in length. The world had never seen the like. When early morning came, and the order was given to steam out,

Admiral Beatty led the way on his flagship, the *Queen Elizabeth,* the American ships immediately behind.

The Germans were not trusted. So powerful a fleet, so close to British coasts and with its enemies' ships lined up on either side, might try a sudden battle, not in the hope of victory, but with the intent of sinking as many of the Allied ships as possible, themselves going down in a blaze of glory. It was an open secret on the Allied ships that the sailors hoped such would be the case. Accordingly, when the German ships were sighted, on every vessel in the Allied fleet, "battle stations" was ordered. On every ship the gun crews were ready to commence firing within forty seconds of the giving of an order. A full head of steam was in the boilers.

The *Cardiff,* a British light cruiser, trailing an observation kite balloon, acted as pilot. Close behind her, as though a terrier were leading a mastiff, came the battle cruiser *Seydlitz,* followed by the *Derfflinger,* the *Von der Tann, Hindenburg* and *Moltke,* all battle cruisers. Immediately after them came nine Dreadnoughts, the *Friedrich der Grosse,* the *König Albert, Kaiser, Kronprinz Wilhelm, Kaiserin, Bayern, Markgraf, Prinzregent Luitpold,* and *Grosser Kurfürst.* Three miles astern came seven light cruisers, and three miles astern of those came 49 destroyers, one having struck a mine and sunk on the way across.

The guarding columns had taken up position ten miles apart and the German fleet steamed slowly at a 10-knot speed between the columns. The German guns were pointed fore-and-aft, and a British dirigible circled overhead to see that there was no hostile German move. The captive vessels were piloted to an anchorage and later were taken to Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands, with small Ger-

man crews aboard for maintenance. The rest of the crews were returned to Germany.

The historic order which closed the surrender was sent by Admiral Beatty to Admiral von Reuter. It read: "The German flag is to be hauled down at 5:57 today (sundown). It is not to be hoisted again without permission."

During December and January, an Allied Submarine Commission made a thorough investigation of all German shipbuilding points and found scores of U-boats, some complete and others nearly so. The Germans protested against giving up these submarines, but were forced to do so.

Germany's only super-Dreadnought, the *Baden,* was surrendered and arrived in Scapa Flow on January 11, 1919, in place of the tenth battle cruiser required by the armistice. The *Baden* was equal to the *Queen Elizabeth* class in gunpower, but not in speed.

Further submarines were surrendered, in addition to those found in the shipyards. A flotilla of sixteen surrendered on January 12, 1919.

A long and acute controversy was begun by a recommendation by United States Admiral Rodman that the older types of German capital ships be taken out to sea and sunk. Both the United States and British governments promptly attacked the proposal. President Wilson, while in Paris, gave it out as the American opinion that the warships should not be distributed among the Allies. As no declaration had been made by Congress in the matter, this was only a personal opinion, but it carried weight.

German bad faith was shown in an acute form when, on June 21, immediately prior to Germany's signing of the Peace Treaty, the interned German fleet at Scapa Flow was sunk by the maintenance crews left on the ships, the order

for the destruction being given by Admiral von Reuter, who declared that he was acting under the orders of the ex-Kaiser.

The complete list of German naval losses was made on July 8. According to that list 490 ships of war were lost. Of these 197 were submarines. The loss in killed was 29,685, officers and men.

With the sinking of the German fleet in Scapa Flow, an act which added dishonorable breach of faith to a pusillanimous surrender, Germany's once great aspiration to naval power came to an end. So far as human foresight could reach, at the end of the war, Germany was crippled navally for at least a century to come. Even the most ambitious naval building programme, backed by untold money, would not enable her to overtake the naval programme of Great Britain in less than a hundred years. Moreover, the war had left her impoverished and under obligation to build ships for the Allies. The German naval flag was as extinct as the skull and crossbones banner of a bolder but not a more cruel piracy.

LXIII

THE RED RAGE OF BOLSHEVISM

THE war ended, so far as Russia was concerned — said the Diplomat — when, on January 19, 1918, the labor unions dissolved the Constitutional Assembly by armed force and took control of the government. A socialist-communist government was formed, which became known both as the Bolshevist Government and the Soviet Government.

The first step was a decree abolishing private ownership in land. This was followed by the seizing of all railroads, factories, and the confiscation of all properties and monies to which the labor leaders took a fancy. All loans were repudiated and all the money in the banks seized. From that date onward, anarchy, rapine, theft, brutality, bloodshed and organized massacre reigned supreme in Russia. Not in the worst days of the most tyrannously evil of emperors, in any land, or in any age, did a country pass into such an orgy of ruin as did Russia under the Soviet rule of the labor unions.

The Revolution of the Reds began immediately upon the enforced abdication of the Czar. The Radicals undermined the Provisional Government started upon lines of good government by Prince Lvoff, and they waged a continual civil war against the more democratic form of government established by Kerensky, so that, on November 1, 1917, Kerensky

issued a statement to the effect that he despaired of restoring civil law.

The "Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils," as the revolutionary labor group bodies called themselves, on November 6, 1917, demanded the right to control General Staff military orders in Petrograd. This was refused. Whereupon the Military Committee of the Labor Councils ordered the troops to obey their orders, rather than those of their officers. Next day Kerensky appealed to the parliament for a vote of confidence. Many members stayed away, many more refused to vote, and, though the vote was passed in his favor by a small majority, it was evident that the parliament was against him. That same day the garrison at Petrograd joined the Maximalists or extreme radicals, and the city was seized. In the evening a proclamation was issued announcing the deposition of Kerensky and the government passed into the hands of the "Military Revolutionary Committee."

The program of this body was declared to be: "Immediate offer of a democratic peace," "immediate handing over of large proprietarial lands to the peasants," "transmission of all authority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates," and "convocation of a Constitutional Assembly."

The character of the labor government was seen on November 10, when the Workmen's and Soldiers' Congress passed a resolution calling for peace and saying that "The Government considers a peace to be democratic and equable which is aspired to by a majority of the working classes."

The cabinet named by the Labor Union Congress had Nikolai Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Foreign Minister. Lenine's real name was Vladimir Uulyanoff and he was of noble birth. Leon Trotzky's real name was

Leber Braunstein and he had been expelled, because of a bad record, from Germany, France, Switzerland and Spain. He had lived for some time in New York City. Among the other members of the cabinet, one was an unskilled laborer, one was a sailor, and one was a bookkeeper who had served two terms in prison. All were classed as Bolsheviki, supported by the Left Wing of the Social Revolutionary Party.

Everywhere the Kerensky government collapsed. Bolshevist terrorism at once showed itself. An armistice was signed between Russia and Germany on December 17, 1917. It was preceded by the most extraordinary decree in military history, abolishing all military ranks and decreeing that officers should be elected by the men. Immediately all the officers were degraded. The army fell into chaos.

Meantime, during the armistice negotiations, the elections for the Constituent Assembly were held. Several sets of figures were given out, all contradictory. Approximately the Bolsheviki polled 45 per cent of the total vote, the Constitutional Democrats 25 per cent, the Social Revolutionaries 20 per cent, and scattering parties 10 per cent. The first session, announced for December 11, was a complete failure. Only 50 of the 600 elected delegates arrived in Petrograd. The moderate element was afraid to attend, the radical element, having the power, refused to attend. Soldiers, under Bolshevik orders, refused to allow the meeting to be held.

The true Russian Constituent Assembly, for which elections had been held earlier, and which was intended to become the basis of all Russia's future government, met on January 18, 1918. The first contest was over a chairman. Marie Spiridonova, the Bolshevist candidate, was defeated by 244 to 151. The Bolshevist members then offered a mo-

tion that the Workmen's and Soldiers' Government be recognized. This was defeated also. Whereupon, sailors armed with rifles entered the hall and drove the delegates out. Lenine issued a decree dissolving the assembly. This was the end of constitutional government in Russia for years to come.

The All-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen and Soldiers, known as Soviets, began on January 22, 1918. From that time until the end of the war, including the period between the signing of the armistice and the ratification of the peace treaties, Russia was under the rule of the Soviet Government.

The first rock against which the Bolshevist government struck was that of the army. Anticipating — and with reason — a counter-revolution, a strong Bolshevist army was necessary. But, on January 24, the Soviet Government was informed that its order breaking down discipline had broken down the army. Officers had been murdered by scores, wines and liquors in the medical warehouses seized, military stores of all kinds sold for a few dollars to anyone who would take them away. Machine-gun detachments left the ranks, taking with them their guns and good supply of ammunition and started up in business for themselves as modern highwaymen on a large scale. Every peasant carried to his village all the loot he could carry. On January 27 the "Red Army" was organized, a body which, for a long time, was worse even than the Bolshevist Military Committee which had called it into being.

The second trouble the Bolshevists encountered was the question of land. They had seized all the land belonging to the nobles and the state. But, when the time came to apportion this among the peasants, it was found to amount

to less than six acres more of tillable land per head. Moreover, many of the farm horses had been killed in the war, and since the Bolshevists had appropriated the money of the Peasants' Bank, the peasants had neither funds to buy machinery or animals, nor to secure seed. Besides which, they did not want to work, as long as they could steal.

The third trouble was that the industrial system of the Bolsheviki as first organized did not work. This was the "constitutional factory" or "co-operative plant" wherein the owner runs the factory under direction of a committee of the employes. (It is worthy of remark that this principle was part of the platform of the labor unions in the United States and Great Britain during the year 1919.) It was found that this system provided an easy life for a small group of men, but that production was so small per capita that it would fall to pieces under any foreign competition.

The fourth trouble was the publication of evidence showing that Lenine and Trotzky had received German money for inciting the revolution, and for signing a peace treaty with Germany. But Germany broke faith even with traitors, and began a new invasion of Russia. German armies marched on Great Russia, February 15, 1918. Austrian armies marched on the Ukraine, February 16, and Turkish armies marched on the Caucasus, February 20. On February 22 the Soviets ordered resistance, but the army was so utterly demoralized that two days later, still more drastic German terms were compulsorily accepted.

The "Red Army," however, refused to accept the terms. Patriotism flamed anew, volunteers joined the Red Army by tens of thousands, and on February 26, the Germans were defeated at Orsha. On March 3, 1918, disregarding its own Red Army, the Bolshevist Government signed a

peace treaty with Germany, yielding to the Kaiser all of Russian Armenia, the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, Esthonia and Finland. This was a territory 455,000 square miles in area, with 56,000,000 population, equal in size to two German Empires, with a population far larger than that of France.

The Pan-Soviet Congress ratified this treaty on March 11, one of the features of this Bolshevist congress being sympathetic messages from President Woodrow Wilson of the United States and from the labor unions of America. No other nation, except the Central Powers, had admitted the existence of the Bolshevist government. On the contrary, Great Britain, France and Italy denounced the treaty as a political crime against an unarmed people.

Under pressure, the Bolshevist government was compelled to admit that their peace treaty had given to Germany one-third of Russia's railway mileage, three-quarters of her iron production, nine-tenths of her coal production, together with over 5,000 factories of the first class, equipped and in working order. As a realization of this treaty trickled through Russia (its terms were suppressed at first), a powerful pro-Russian sentiment sprang into flame against Lenine and Trotzky, who now were seen to be mere German agents of treachery.

At eight different points, pro-Russian and anti-German movements developed. These were in Finland, in the Baltic Provinces, in Poland, among the Czecho-Slovaks, in the Ukraine, among the Cossacks and in Siberia. Each of these developed a sharp and aggressive warfare.

This was not the worst. Lenine's land policy, which had not worked well, had fallen into still more evil days when the Bolshevist premier, unable to devise any equable distribu-

tion of the land seized from the nobles, told the poorer peasants to turn against the richer ones and help themselves.

The Russian peasant, though illiterate, is far from being a fool. This development of the Bolshevist policy put the peasantry against Lenine. Marie Spiridonova, who had been the Bolshevist nominee for chairman at the first All-Russian Congress, and who had worked well for the Bolsheviki, on July 4 rose to attack the leaders in the Pan-Soviet Congress. She denounced Lenine and declared that she was ready "to fight, bomb in hand" for the peasants and against a government which was trying to make Russia a German colony.

Next day, the Social Revolutionists and the Bolsheviki split. The Bolshevist answer to this was the establishment of the worst Reign of Terror the world has ever seen. Paris in the most abandoned days of the French Revolution never descended to such infamy.

Common decency and humanity could no longer permit horrors only to be equalled by the Turkish barbarities in Armenia, and the Allies sent troops to aid the various anti-Bolshevist forces. This had the effect of strengthening the Bolshevist government, since the latter at once informed the Russian people that the Allies had decided on the partition of Russia. On August 31, the British Embassy in Petrograd was attacked and a British captain, who defended the place, was murdered. American, British, French and Japanese troops were sent to Russia and the Soviet government secured help from Berlin.

Two days later, the United States government recognized the Czecho-Slovaks as a belligerent nation, and the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a de facto government. The other allies had already recognized this state. The decision

was momentous, for the Czecho-Slovaks had been among the most bitter of the foes of the Bolsheviki. Meantime, the Allies had recognized two other non-Bolshevist governments: the Siberians, with headquarters first at Tomsk and then at Omsk, and the Supreme Government of the Northern Territory with headquarters at Archangel. Assistance had also been sent to the Cossacks.

Early in November, 1918, the Omsk and Archangel governments united under the title of the All-Russian Provisional Government. It declared itself avowedly responsible to the Constituent Assembly of the Kerensky régime. This changed the aspect of affairs in Russia. Armed forces were not in revolt against the Bolsheviki, but in open and recognized war. A new phase of the conflict had begun.

LXIV

THE WAR AGAINST THE SOVIETS

WITH the formation of anti-Bolshevist forces into a single body — the Military Expert continued — and with the signing of the German armistice on November 11, 1918, the Russian situation grew tense. Terrorism became more acute. In a dozen different Bolshevist centers, as many anarchistic groups assumed control. The most startling decrees were issued. Russia became a madhouse.

At the same time, the Allies, expecting to find the Soviet government a mere bugaboo, kept alive by terrorism, were rudely surprised. Bolshevism showed itself a strong and powerful force, to which millions of Russians adhered blindly. The Allies expected that a mere show of arms would end the Soviets. They found themselves compelled to fight seriously, and, when at last the Peace Treaty was ratified, the Bolsheviki were not only still in the saddle, but had become almost as great a menace to the world as German militarism had been.

The Allied armies and the various anti-Bolshevist forces were at first welded into a loosely organized group, being placed under the supreme command of General Jules Janin of the French army. This warfare may be regarded as possessing four phases, each directed inwardly toward Moscow from four sides: from the Baltic Sea, with Riga as the central point; from the Black Sea, with Odessa as the central

point; from the Siberian frontier, with Vladivostok as the port, Omsk as the administrative center and Perm as the main military outpost; and from the White Sea, with Archangel as the central point. Each of these may be considered in turn.

Before taking up the situation as it appeared on November 11, 1918, however, some little account of the scattered fighting during 1918 may be given, confining the same to conflicts directly against the Soviets in the interests of Russia, and, for the time being, leaving out the conflicts by peoples who sought national liberty and who fought readily against any pan-Russian plan, no matter by whom led, which might militate against their purposed independence.

For the first three months of 1918, the Soviet government was trying to bring order out of chaos, endeavoring to organize a Red Army and to drive back a German invasion. The latter question was solved by the capitulation to Germany, giving the Kaiser over 50,000,000 square miles of territory. Early in April, 1918, a rumor spread that 150,000 German prisoners of war, in Siberia, had organized and were planning to seize the Allied stores at Vladivostok. On April 5, 1918, therefore, Japanese, British and French marines were landed for police duty.

The month of May witnessed a confused condition of affairs. In spite of the Brest-Litovsk treaty the Germans advanced into Great Russia, became masters of the Ukraine — which had declared its independence — and fomented rebellion in Finland. They bombarded a port in Trans-Caucasia, which also had declared its independence. The Soviet armies resisted and defeated the Turko-German troops near Kars. On June 6, Germany forced the surrender of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. On June 5–7 sharp fighting oc-

curred between the anti-Bolshevist forces under the Cossack leader Semenoff and the Soviet army.

The United States, at this time, declined to give any help to the anti-Bolshevist forces. An inter-Allied military expedition to intervene in Russia was proposed, but President Wilson declared opposition. During June the Trans-Siberian Railroad, for 1500 miles of its length, passed into Czecho-Slovak and anti-Bolshevist hands.

As if to make the confusion in Russia worse confounded, the Allies sent an Anglo-French detachment to fight on the side of the Soviets against the German-Finnish effort to seize the Murman Railroad which runs from Kola, on the Arctic Ocean, to near Petrograd. On July 2, the Finno-Germans attacked Kem. More Allied troops were landed on the Murman coast, including American marines.

The Murman coast, though in the Arctic, is ice-free the year round, because a tiny branch of the Gulf Stream curls round in that direction. On July 15, the Murman coast region was declared to be Russian territory under Allied protection. The Murman region broke from the authority of the Soviet government. The Russian Foreign Minister, M. Tchitcherin, demanded that the Allies re-embark their troops. The note was ignored. England, meanwhile, had sent fresh troops to Siberia.

President Wilson favored the establishment of trade conditions with Russia and the making of tentative proposals to the Bolsheviki. Even the American embassy in Russia was aghast at this desire to aid the Berlin-directed Bolshevist government and made a protest. By the end of July, the Soviet army had reached 600,000 men.

The situation of the Czecho-Slovaks, however, forced America's hand. On August 3, it was announced at Wash-

ington that a force of a few thousand men would be sent to Vladivostok for the occupation of that town, in company with the Japanese and the Allies, and for "the safe-guarding of the country to the rear of the westward-moving Czecho-Slovaks." President Wilson, however, added that he laid more stress on the sending of business men, Red Cross nurses and Y. M. C. A. workers than on the army.

Meantime, the friction between the Allies and the Bolsheviki had become keener. The diplomats removed to Archangel, under protection of the Allied armies. On August 10, the Bolshevist authorities arrested the British consul in Moscow. About this time, there was a shower of declarations of war against the Soviets from the various semi-organized anti-Bolshevist groups.

By the middle of August a strong force of Allied troops was at Vladivostok, its aim being the relief of the Czecho-Slovaks. These latter were in two groups, one with its base at Vladivostok, and therefore practically rescued by the Allies, the other along the line of the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Irkutsk on the western shore of Lake Baikal to Samara in European Russia. Between Irkutsk and Vladivostok was a strong well-armed force of Bolsheviki and German prisoners, numbering 50,000. The Allies' aim was to break down this hostile force which cut the Czecho-Slovak line in two.

First, however, an army menacing Vladivostok had to be destroyed. In the battle of the Ussuri, on August 28, the Bolshevist troops were defeated by Japanese, American and Allied troops. Meantime the Cossacks had come overland to the aid of the Czecho-Slovaks, and, without Allied aid, had secured three important victories between Lake Baikal and Chita, had destroyed the Bolshevist-German army, re-

stored connection with the eastern army, and reopened the 4,000-mile communication of the Trans-Siberian Railway, enabling the transportation of supplies.

On September 11, American soldiers — in addition to the marines — were landed in Archangel and commenced to take part in the subsequent fighting. The American troops fought also in harmony with the Japanese in the capture of Blagoviestchensk on September 22 and Banbuki on September 27. The gold mines of Transbaikalia were abandoned by the Bolshevist troops on October 4.

While this had been proceeding in Siberia and on the northern front, the Reign of Terror had been continuing in Russia. With the execution of the ex-Czar Nicholas and his family on July 17, a new crisis of rage was begun. The Bolsheviki, now, had not only the reactionaries to fear but also the more moderate of the radicals. On September 21 the American government sent an appeal to all associated and neutral governments urging them to express their condemnation of the reign of "mass terrorism and wholesale executions, wherein thousands of persons have been shot without a trial, ill-administered prisons are filled beyond capacity, every night scores of Russian citizens are recklessly put to death and irresponsible bands are venting their brutal passions in the daily massacres of untold innocents."

Such was the state of Russia when the hostilities of the World War came to an end with the signing of the armistice, and such was the military situation.

Soviet gunboats shelled the Russo-Allied posts on the Dvina River in November, 1918. A Russian-American force advanced up the Pienga River. Part of this advance was lost in the next couple of weeks. On December 30, the Allies recaptured the village of Kadish, the objective being

Vologda. To this point the Czecho-Slovaks also were striving, with the effort of effecting a junction and thus ensuring supplies from the Murman coast instead of by the long roundabout route via Vladivostok.

The Soviet army was the stronger. In January, 1919, they forced the Allied and American armies to retreat successively from Shenkursk, Shegovarski and Tarasovo, securing large stores of munitions. In February, Bolshevist attacks on Kadish were repulsed, but the Red army showed great strength both in men and guns, and the Americans were driven out of Kadish on March 7.

What amounted almost to a mutiny among the American troops occurred when the doughboys refused to entrain unless they received definite information as to the date when they would be withdrawn.

April saw a number of unsuccessful attacks on the Allied positions, Russian and British forces reoccupying Bolshie Ozerki. But the Soviet army was strong and Allied successes were seen to be more successful in other fields. The American engineers left that front on June 27, the British remained to aid the anti-Bolshevist Russian army. In July and August the chances of battle fluctuated, the British troops being finally withdrawn in September. The British government admitted the failure of the expedition and evacuated all points on the Archangel front. The Soviets had won in that quarter.

The Baltic situation was much more complicated. The Baltic provinces sought independence, Germany demanded their annexation, democratic Russia wanted them, and Soviet Russia fought for them. Upon the evacuation of the Baltic provinces by Germany, the Soviets seized Lithuania. On October 25 Esthonia declared itself a republic,

and asked for Allied help against the Soviets. On November 30 Lithuania declared herself a republic, the ceremony taking place at Riga.

Bolshevist armies at once overran Esthonia and Lithuania, one army capturing Wenden on December 21, the other Riga, in Livonia, on January 1, 1919. British troops landed in Riga on January 14. The Finns came to the aid of the Esthonians and partly checked the advance of the Bolshevist army. Then Livonia and Courland both became republics and all four Baltic provinces presented a united front against Bolshevism, driving the invaders back. On April 6, the Soviet army in this section was declared to be in full retreat. Then the Germans showed their hand, and, under disguise of helping the Letts against the Bolsheviki, overthrew the Lettish republic and created a provisional German government under General von der Goltz.

An additional thorn in the side of the Bolsheviki was a Finnish-Karelian revolt in the province of Olonetz, the city of that name, only 110 miles from Petrograd, having been seized by General Yudenitch.

Finding that the Germans would help them against the Bolsheviki, the Baltic provinces, in desperation, accepted the aid of von der Goltz, and Riga was taken by joint German and Esthonian forces on May 26. Trouble occurred at once between the Germans and the Esthonians, and, on June 10, Marshal Foch sent an abrupt note ordering the cessation of all hostilities. This produced a deadlock, the Bolsheviki counter-attacking and the Esthonians being hard set to it to hold their own.

The next move — one of considerable importance — was the formation at Reval on August 10 of a new Government of the Northwest Provinces under General Yudenitch, which

recognized the independence of Esthonia. None the less, Pskov, the most important city on the Baltic front, was captured by the Bolsheviki August 27. Von der Goltz remained in control at Mitau, cleverly arranging to have a force of 40,000 men nominally in sympathy with the Omsk government, but actually German in purpose. Von der Goltz also was dickering with the Soviet government.

The situation grew so tense that heavy pressure was brought to bear on Germany. Von der Goltz was recalled. British naval vessels took Riga under cover of their guns, and the troops under General Yudenitch steadily advanced from Olonetz toward Petrograd. The Baltic provinces cleared their territory of the Bolshevist forces. On October 22, the Allied fleets took Kronstadt under bombardment. On October 24 General Yudenitch was in possession of two of the railroads running into Petrograd, but heavy Soviet re-enforcement had come up from Moscow. On October 28–30, in a three days' battle, General Yudenitch was driven back, even abandoning Tsarskoe-Selo, and the approach of winter prevented a continuance of military operations. Further fighting was sporadic.

The Finns declined to throw their whole force with Yudenitch and the other anti-Bolshevist groups, because these latter had not announced their willingness to grant independence to Finland. This weakened Yudenitch's position. Unable to secure supplies and lacking military support, his army deserted him, and by the end of the year 1919 all Karelian opposition to the Soviets was at an end. The Baltic provinces, however, still stood firm.

Having thus considered the northern front, with its three divisions, the White Sea, Murman and Karelian sections, the next Bolshevist front to be considered is that in the

Ukraine. The Ukrainians, or Little Russians, are utterly unlike the Great Russians in race and character, having a language and a literature all their own. Originally, most of Russia was under Little Russian rule, and the Ukrainians regard the Great Russians as usurpers. The Great Russians have always stifled the Little Russians, who are often known as "The Irish of Russia." The comparison is not unjust, the Great Russians possessing solidarity and a certain stolid organizing power, the Little Russians, while far cleverer as individuals, lacking the ability for group-action, and having a type of enthusiasm which is easily led away into side-issues.

The Ukraine had proclaimed herself a republic on November 20, 1917. She was recognized as a separate state by the Bolshevist commissioners at the Brest-Litovsk debates. She signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers, February 8, 1918. The Ukraine had always stood for her independence, and neither under the Coalition government of Lvoff, the Democratic government of Kerensky, nor the Bolshevist government of the Soviets did the Ukraine receive what she thought to be her due deserts. In fact, on December 17, 1917, the Bolshevist government sent an ultimatum ordering the Ukraine to break alliance with the counter-revolutionary movement and with General Kaledine and his Don Cossacks, twenty-four hours being given for reply. The Ukraine ignored the note and on December 18, 1917, war between the two governments was declared. Within a few days the Don Cossacks proclaimed a republic, and the Tartars of the Crimea, a khanate, also autonomous.

In the spring of 1918, Germany used in the Ukraine the same trickery which she employed later in the Baltic provinces. On the pretense of aiding the Ukraine against the

Bolsheviki, she invaded that territory with conquering armies and seized all the western and southern part of the republic, including Kiev, Kharkhov and Odessa. A further complication arose when the Diet of the province of Bessarabia voted, 86 to 5, that Bessarabia should separate from the Ukraine and join the Kingdom of Roumania. On November 1, Roumania notified the Supreme Peace Council that she had annexed the province.

Then Germany, as usual, disregarded her treaty as a "scrap of paper," and, without shadow of an excuse, General von Eichhorn, commander of the German army in the Ukraine, proclaimed a "state of enhanced protection," dissolved the parliament and seized the country. Next day, a convention of landed proprietors and peasants in Kiev formed a new government, pro-German in character, and proclaimed General Skoropadsky as Hetman or Military Chief of the Ukraine.

By May, Germany had twelve army corps in the Ukraine and had made a $4,000,000 loan. Efforts on the part of the pro-Slavic Ukrainians to make friends, even with the Bolsheviki, in order to get rid of the Germans, were stopped by Skoropadsky's bayonets. On June 12, however, the Ukraine and the Bolsheviki made peace, and the Ukraine was free to turn on its German masters. Von Eichhorn was assassinated.

Germany rushed troops to the Ukraine until she had an army of 400,000 men there. The peasants were shot by thousands. The atrocities of Belgium were repeated. "Frightfulness" became the watchword. Slavery or compulsory agricultural labor was adopted. The harvesting season in August and September became an orgy of cruelty, for Germany was infuriated when she found that the

Ukraine had produced less than one-eighth of the normal crop. The peasants set fire to fields ripe for harvesting rather than let the invaders get the grain.

Then came the defeat of Germany, and the armistice of November 11, 1918, which forced all Teuton troops to leave the Ukraine. On November 20 the pro-German Ukrainian government headed by Skoropadsky was overthrown, Kiev was taken by the Cossacks under Denikine, and a Provisional Government was set up.

With the German tyranny removed, strife between the Ukraine and the Bolsheviki was renewed. By the end of February, 1919, nearly the whole of the eastern part of the Ukraine was in Bolshevist hands, including the cities of Kharkov, Poltava, Ekaterinoslav and the Donetz mining region. A Soviet government was set up in Kharkov. General Petliura established a pro-Ally group in the southwest of the republic, but he had little chance against the well-organized Bolshevist army, largely officered by Germans, which, during March and April, conquered the greater part of Southern Russia. On April 9, crack French and Greek troops to the number of 50,000 were routed by the Bolshevists and Odessa captured. The Bolshevist successes continued in the Crimea, Perekop being captured and Sebastopol threatened.

At this point there came a turn in the tide. General Petliura, the pro-Ally Ukrainian leader, with the aid of an able Austrian military strategist on his staff, cut the Bolshevist army in two, the latter having extended its line too far in the Odessa and Crimean campaigns. Adherents of Petliura seized Kiev, which, however, they were not able to hold. Disaffection arose in the Bolshevist ranks and a division commander named Grigoriev struck the Soviet armies

in the rear, recapturing Odessa and the main seaports on the Black Sea.

Great Britain, meanwhile, had come to the aid of General Denikine, commander of the Cossacks. His troops were clad in British uniforms, the army was equipped with British guns and hundreds of British tanks were sent him. Two squadrons of the British air forces were at his disposal. Over $50,000,000 worth of military supplies had been forwarded to Denikine. The transport system was remodeled.

This changed the whole aspect of affairs in the south. In three weeks Denikine captured the whole of the Don and Donetz basins, and seized 22,000 prisoners and enormous booty. At the same time he effected a junction with Petliura, who was hard-pressed by the Bolsheviki in the east, by the Polish in the north and by the Roumanians in the west. The Polish question being temporarily patched up, Petliura and Denikine were able to advance in co-ordination and on September 4 Kiev was officially announced as taken, completing the whole line of southern Russia as a united anti-Bolshevist front. From that time on, until the collapse of the foes of the Soviet, the Ukraine forces played their part in connection with Denikine in forcing the Bolshevist menace in an ever-narrowing compass. Orel was captured before the winter snows became too heavy.

The whole warfare of the northern and western territories of Russia against the Soviets thus having been set forth, the southern movements must be presented.

The Cossacks, from the very first, were anti-Bolshevist to the uttermost. By race and training, tribal, the mob-law Soviets seemed to them incomprehensible. During the Lvoff and Kerensky régimes they had been regarded as reactionary and favorable to Czardom. Yet the province of

Kazan proclaimed itself an independent republic on April 9, 1918.

Germany had tried to push into the province of the Don Cossacks, which obeyed its Hetman to the letter, but found that she was stirring up a hornets' nest. Failing in this, German agents aided in the formation of an alleged pro-Austrian anti-Bolshevist government in the Don and Astrakhan under General Krasnoff. This government changed hands and policies kaleidoscopically, having always the Cossacks of the Don as irreconcilable anti-Bolshevist. Two more independent governments were formed to the southeast, those of Orenburg and Turkestan.

As the doom of Austria and Germany drew nearer the German menace from the Ukraine grew less and the Cossacks were able to give all their attention to the Bolshevist danger. Twelve days after the decisive November 11, a courier from General Denikine, commander of the Cossacks, arrived at Saloniki, restoring the connection between the Cossacks and the Allies which had been broken for more than a year. Immediately, from Odessa and from Rostov-on-Don, two armies started for the relief of Kiev. This was the campaign which resulted finally in the union with the armies of the Ukraine, which for a time freed south Russia from the Soviets, and continued under the leadership of Denikine.

In the Caucasus, the several independent governments created there, attacked Turkish, German or Bolshevist armies, as the case might be, with the sole aim of securing and maintaining their newly found liberty. The most important of these were the autonomous governments of North Caucasia, Georgia, Orenburg, Turkestan, Kurdistan, Trans-Caucasia, and Trans-Caspia.

Hemmed in thus on the north, west, and south, the foe of the Soviets to the east remained. This was the All-Russian government of Omsk, and had for its basic military force the two Czecho-Slovak armies, which, as has been shown, were united by the aid of a Cossack army sent up from the south, under General Kaledine.

The whole Siberian question flamed up under a coup d'état whereby on November 18, 1918, Admiral Kolchak assumed all power and declared himself the dictator of the All-Russian government. Though several of the non-Soviet leaders declared themselves hostile to this dictatorship, Kolchak not only held his ground, but, supported by the Czecho-Slovaks, began a series of sensational victories. He annihilated the Soviet Third Army and captured Perm on December 24.

Kolchak was recognized by Denikine, leader of Southern Russia; Krasnoff, Hetman of the Don Cossacks; and Filimonov, Hetman of the Kuban Cossacks. But victory was not all to Kolchak, for, during January, both Ufa and Orenburg were seized by the Soviet forces. As soon as the spring thaws came, Kolchak effected a light but not tenable junction with the Allies on the Archangel front.

At this stage in the proceedings the Americans fell under strong suspicion in Siberia owing to President Wilson's proposal that the Bolsheviki should be invited to a conference at Prince's Islands. The Russians showed that the American President had expressed sympathy with the Soviet government and had been found in opposition to every Allied intervention to help the anti-Bolshevist forces. The commander of the American troops denied this vigorously, though his refusal to attack a Bolshevist stronghold gave more color to the rumor. President Wilson's consistent re-

fusal to recognize Kolchak was of tremendous value to the Soviets. The defence of Russia as against Roumania was similarly interpreted.

Kolchak, however, developing an unexpected strength, went from victory to victory. Orenburg was retaken April 28, Simbirsk and Kazan were surrounded. On May 9, the Archangel provisional government recognized the supreme authority of Kolchak. Early in June the anti-Bolshevist leader received the tentative support of Great Britain and France, but not of America. Soon after, a sudden awakening of Bolshevist force caused him to withdraw along his whole front.

The failure of the Allies definitely to recognize Kolchak had a damaging effect on the dictator's position, and by the middle of June he had lost Ufa and Perm again, and the Allies had decided to abandon the Archangel front. These defeats gave Semenoff, Kolchak's rival, a chance to undermine his leader, and, since Semenoff held a sector on the Trans-Siberian railroad, he obstructed the movement of munitions and supplies. Kolchak's victories were forgotten, the Bolsheviki pressed on and on, defeat succeeded defeat, and in a retreat that was almost a disaster, Kolchak was pressed back to Omsk. September saw 45,000 prisoners taken by the Soviet armies. In October Kolchak rallied and resumed control of the Urals, largely because the Soviet armies had been diverted to the south to try and stop the sensational successes of Denikine, but this success was only temporary and when Denikine was driven back and utterly vanquished, the Bolshevists were able to return and complete the annihilation of Kolchak.

Like the great Napoleon, Denikine made the terrible mistake of pushing north at the beginning of winter. Counting

on the flanking support of Kolchak and being well supplied with military equipment by Britain, he drove forward, risking all on a bold move. As late as November 22, he succeeded in defeating a Bolshevist army near Orel, although the winter snowfall had begun two days before, and the day before his centre had been pierced by Bolshevik cavalry. From that date until December 4, the contest was fierce, with gains at one point and losses at another. But the Bolshevist armies, in greater numbers than those of Denikine, commanded by German officers, advanced steadily on Tchernigov, Poltava and Kursk. On December 12, Kharkhov, the fourth largest town in Russia was taken by the Bolsheviki and Poltava on December 13. Kiev fell on the 16th. Other Bolshevist armies drove at the Crimea and the ports of the Sea of Azov. Town after town fell, and on December 16, Denikine resigned as commander-in-chief of the Army of Southern Russia, being succeeded by General Wrangel, formerly commander of the Russian Army of the Caucasus, Denikine still remaining in control of the western wing. On December 31, Ekaterinoslav fell and on January 3 the Bolshevists had pierced Denikine's army, split it in two and held the Black Sea ports. Odessa finally fell on January 11, 1920, and the coast line of the Sea of Azov was declared taken on January 13, thus giving the Bolsheviki military control of all European Russia from the Arctic north to the uttermost south.

Kolchak fared no better. Owing largely to his autocratic militarism, he estranged all friends and allies. In rapid succession, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk fell, these four towns being the four keys to Siberia. Seeing the fall of Krasnoyarsk near, Kolchak resigned (or was deposed) on January 5, General Semenoff taking his place. Kras-

noyarsk fell on January 8. Three All-Russian armies surrendered to the Bolsheviki. On January 9 Irkutsk revolted against Kolchak rule in favor of the Bolsheviki and Allied and Japanese leaders retired to Chita. Kolchak was put under arrest on January 10.

Thus on January 10, 1920, the very day when the war was officially at an end, the Bolsheviki not only held the whole of European Russia, but also the whole of Western Siberia as far as Lake Baikal. They also controlled the northern Caucasus and the greater part of Trans-Caspia. In a word, the close of the war found the Bolsheviki in victorious and triumphant command of the Russian empire, saving and except for Eastern Siberia, Trans-Caucasia, Poland and the Ukraine.

LXV

THE RESTORATION OF FINLAND

THE position of Finland throughout the Great War — continued the Diplomat — was peculiar, and unlike that of any other country. Finland was a Grand-Duchy under the Russian Empire, but it had its own government, its own language, its own literature. Though a sparsely peopled country, with 3,269,000 population to 125,689 square miles of area (of which 10 per cent was under lakes), it was remarkably advanced, with one of the best educational systems in Europe and an astonishingly small degree of illiteracy. It was one of the first countries in the world to grant equal suffrage to both sexes. The Finns are thrifty, hard-working, and intensely nationalistic. Racially, they are akin to the Magyars of Hungary.

Russia had always been hated by the Finns, and this hate was increased when, in 1899, the Constitution of Finland was abrogated and Finland was put under martial law with a Governor General famed for his brutality. The Russian Revolution of 1905 restored autonomy, which, again, was repressed by the "Black" reaction of 1910.

When the Great War broke out, Finland was resentful of being forced to fight on the side of the Czar. On March 21, 1917, after the Czar had been overthrown, Russia restored the Finn Constitution and amnestied all Finns imprisoned or exiled for political offences.

With the fall of the Lvoff régime and the evidence that

Kerensky could not hold Russia together, Finland declared her complete independence on July 20, 1917, and after lawful and constitutional elections, Finland became a republic on December 9, 1917. This republic was recognized by the

FIG. 44. FINLAND AND THE MURMAN COAST

Dotted area is the new republic. The Murman coast and the Archangel region were tentatively separated from Bolshevist Russia, boundaries to be determined by the League of Nations.

Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, by Germany, by France, and by Bolshevist Russia on January 9, 1918.

Again, and as always, Germany broke faith. On the pretense of saving Finland from Bolshevism she sent troops thither as soon as the spring thaws set in. Two parties were formed in Finland, both anti-Bolshevist. One of these

parties was pro-Finn, one was pro-German. A third Bolshevist party was formed a little later. The Finno-German troops attacked the Allies on the Murman coast. Political parties in the Diet (parliament) rose and fell, German agents cleverly manipulating the internal affairs of the country. The army was Germanized.

On June 12, the Finnish Parliament announced the contemplated change of the Republic of Finland into a hereditary monarchy. As this caused wide-spread protest, all the members of the parliament who were not pro-German were put in prison. The throne was then offered to a German prince, Frederick Charles of Hesse, who accepted the crown September 17, this being ratified by the stuffed pro-German parliament on October 11, 1918.

Upon the signing of the armistice, one month later, all German troops were required to leave Finland, and the Germanization of the country came to an abrupt end. The monarchical idea died a natural death. General Mannerheim was elected premier of Finland, December 13, 1918.

The Finns, well used to self-government, at once restored order in the country and aided the Allies in checking the armies of the Soviets. The revolt of Olonetz, chief city of the Karelians (a people of kin to the Finns), enabled the formation of a powerful Finno-Karelian army under General Yudenitch. Working in co-operation with the Letts, the Esthonians and the Lithuanians, and backed by a British fleet and British supplies, Yudenitch made a powerful advance on Petrograd, seizing Tsarskoe-Selo on October 24 and reaching the suburbs of Petrograd the same day. There, however, he encountered the elaborate defensive systems which had been constructed during the early part of the Great War and Bolshevist re-enforcements arrived.

Sharply defeated on October 28, Yudenitch was forced to retire to his main defenses, 68 miles from the capital.

Finland, while willing to help in a true All-Russian movement, was unwilling to become entangled in Russian party strife, and withdrew from her tentative support of the Karelian claims. Thus freed of the threat of Bolshevism, Finland was able to give her undivided attention to domestic affairs. She was recognized by all the Powers, and, under the new régime, commenced her life anew as one of the advanced republics of the European world.

LXVI

POLAND FREED FROM TYRANNY

THE western border of what once was Russia is almost as great a mix-up of races as is the Caucasus. From the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea there are the Finns, the Karelians, the Esthonians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Magyars, the Ukrainians and the Roumanians. The Finns, Karelians, Esthonians and Magyars are of kin, belonging to the Finno-Ugric race; the Lithuanians and Letts are ethnological puzzles, but are classed as the Baltic Race; the Roumanians belong to the Latin race; the Poles, Czecho-Slovaks and Ukrainians are Slavs, but with a strong national feeling, each one pitted against the other and with very different languages and habits.

The history of Poland is one of the most exciting and extraordinary of all countries of the world, but only one or two of the main features of that history are necessary to an understanding of the place of Poland in the Great War.

Poland once was the most important country of Eastern Europe. She was a giant when Russia was a dwarf. As late as the seventeenth century she was the third largest state in Europe, her territory reaching from near Berlin to near Moscow, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Yet, at the beginning of the Great War, Poland did not even exist, the 21,000,000 Poles being divided among Russia, Germany and Austria. If it be remembered that German

Poland was known as Silesia and that Austrian Poland was known as Galicia, much of the curious developments on the eastern front will be made clear.

Poland had a liberal constitution as early as 1368 and was at that time more advanced than any country except Bohemia and England. She remained powerful until Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia made an alliance and divided Poland between them, giving, as a gift, one-third of Poland to Austria. This was known as the Three Partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. A love affair between Napoleon Bonaparte and Countess Walewska gave Poland hope that the great conqueror might annul these unjust partitions, but Napoleon did not have the opportunity to make good his promises, his Moscow campaign proving disastrous.

Under Russian misrule, German misrule and Austrian misrule, Poland was subjected to the most shameful treatment. Of these three, the worst was German misrule in Silesia. The Polish language was prohibited. In 1902 it was officially admitted that thousands of school children were flogged regularly for refusing to say the Lord's Prayer in German. Fifteen children died from these floggings. In 1906, half a million children rose against their oppressors. It was the greatest uprising of childhood since the Children's Crusade.

During the Great War, Poland was the battleground of the East, even as Belgium was of the West. German atrocities in Poland were at least as bad, if not worse, than those in Belgium. It is impossible to say more.

After Russian Czardom had been overthrown, the Provisional Government, under Prince Lvoff, proclaimed the independence of Poland, inclusive of Austrian Poland, Ger-

man Poland and Russian Poland. This was a case of prophecy rather than fulfilment, for Russia did not control Austrian or German Poland. Germany had, earlier, declared her willingness to allow independence to Poland, but this had speedily been shown to be a mere trick for the enrollment of Poles in the German Army.

Neither of these liberations had any permanence. The first true move towards Polish independence occurred on June 4, 1917, when an autonomous Polish Army was formed and recognized by France, under its own Polish banner. On October 7, 1917, the United States government authorized separate recruiting for the Polish Army by Poles in America. At the close of 1917 the Allies had come to an agreement ensuring a Free Poland as one of the aims of the War. As for Bolshevist Russia, by the Brest-Litovsk treaty, she surrendered Poland to the Central Powers, as though Poland had nought to say.

Poland was surrounded on all sides. But the Polish Army was not, and fought bravely on the side of the Allies. In Poland itself, savage revolt arose and was as savagely suppressed. Germany's doom was drawing near and on June 3, 1918, the Eentente Powers at Versailles declared for "a free and independent Poland, with access to the sea."

The next few months saw Germany in retreat and Austria in collapse. Then came the grim order of the armistice, compelling the withdrawal of all German troops from Poland. The United States did not recognize the independence of the Polish Army and the Polish National Committee until November 4, 1918. The Republic of Poland was formed on November 9, under President Daszynski.

On the heels of this success, trouble began. The territorial limits of Poland had not been determined by the armistice. What did "a free and independent Poland" mean? The Poles, naturally, sought all the territory that had been theirs in the seventeenth century, thereby starting a war on the German frontier, on the Austrian frontier, on the Russian (Bolshevist) frontier, and on the Ukraine frontier. Besides which, the Jugoslavs claimed a part of Galicia.

General Pilsudski became Military Dictator of Poland. In January, 1919, an effort was made to overthrow the government. Several political parties arose, one of the strongest centering around Paderewski, the famous pianist. Paderewski formed a government on January 19, 1919, and issued a call for elections.

The result was the formation of a Constituent Assembly, in which nearly all the Polish leaders — no matter what their political affiliations — found a seat. It opened in Warsaw, February 10, 1919, under the Presidency of Prince Radziwill. Paderewski became premier and Pilsudski military Chief of State. On March 2, the Ukraine declared war on Poland.

Meantime, the Allies had recognized the Paderewski-Pilsudski government. American opposition to the Polish Army nearly precipitated trouble between the Allies, but the matter was smoothed out. France recognized Poland on February 24, Italy on March 13 and Belgium March 19. The treaty of alliance between Poland and the Allies was ratified March 29. Poland was given access to the sea through Danzig, but the city itself was internationalized, British and American marines landing in that city May 27, 1919. Fighting continued on the three fronts.

A rift came up between Paderewski and Pilsudski on the question of pressing the Ukraine war. Paderewski resigned, but the resignation was not acted on, and a split was prevented. Pilsudski smashed the Ukraine armies without mercy and the Ukrainians on May 19 asked for an armistice. Terms were broken off and the war in Galicia continued intermittently.

The terms of the German and Austrian Peace Treaties as completed, did not please Poland, but she was forced to accept the terms. Paderewski and Pilsudski were wise enough to see that opposition to the Peace Treaty would gain them nothing, although official protest was made against the internationalization of the City of Danzig and of the River Vistula, against the law of national minorities, against the permission of language and cultural rights to Germans living in Poland, and against the enforcement upon Poland of a part of the Russian debt. The German Peace Treaty was ratified by Poland on July 31, and Free Poland took her place among the nations.

Perhaps foremost of all the reconstructed countries, Poland set herself to the tasks of organization. Industries were established on a sound basis and personal ambitions — ever the curse of Poland — were kept under. Paderewski remained as premier until December 7, 1919, when a coalition cabinet was formed under Skulski. The cause of the change was two-fold, first, dissatisfaction with Paderewski in that he had failed to secure the whole of East Galicia for Poland in the peace negotiations, and, second, that he was more a diplomat than an administrator and that reconstruction problems needed men of technical business knowledge and administrative capacity.

On December 10, at Dorpat, Poland declared herself in

agreement with Esthonia, Letvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and White Russia for the formation of a military and economic convention known as the Baltic Convention, designed to protect these states against Bolshevist, German or Roumanian aggression.

In military affairs Poland showed herself both strong and well-organized. She not only threw back all Bolshevist attempts on her frontier, but on January 4, 1920, she captured Dvinsk, the key of the Dvina River, operating with the Lett army. Moreover, on January 9, Polish troops took up advanced positions in Western Ukraine, and announced their willingness to aid the Ukrainians to recapture Chernigov and Kiev from the Reds. When the war officially came to a close, on January 10, 1920, Poland had secured a position of stability and respect.

LXVII

THE CREATION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA is the old Bohemia in Austria and Slovakia in Hungary, with some additions. Bohemians had been for centuries a downtrodden people who had won the respect and admiration of the world and the hatred of their Austrian oppressors. Earlier in history, Bohemia had been famous as one of the cradles of Protestantism and modern civilization. If Bohemia succeeds in handing on her ideals to Czecho-Slovakia, that republic cannot but have a glorious history.

When the war broke out, the Austro-Hungarian armies contained 600,000 Czechs (Bohemians) and Slovaks, who were compelled to fight unwillingly against their Slavic kin in Russia. By the end of 1916 over 300,000 of these had managed to make their way to Russia, where they were fighting under General Brussiloff and other Russian commanders. They were the only troops that remained loyal when the Bolshevist infection swept the Russian armies.

From the very beginning of the war, Professor Massaryk sought to secure the help of America for his people. France and Italy gave the first formal recognition to the Czecho-Slovaks, Great Britain followed, and, more than two months later, on September 2, 1918, America agreed also.

When the Russian front crumbled at the Brest-Litovsk treaty of shame, the Czecho-Slovak armies, at the word of

Professor Masaryk, who was still in Washington, started a 4,000 mile march across Russia and Siberia in the hope of reaching Vladivostok, hoping to cross the Pacific and Atlantic in order to reach the western front and resume fighting there. In a foregoing chapter has been told the story how they reached and held Siberia from the murderous mania of Bolshevism and brought that part of the word to stable government and peace. France, ever the most generous of nations and the first to recognize gallantry, on June 30, 1918 formally presented the Czecho-Slovak flag to an army on the western front, recognized the army as a belligerent, and the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a de facto government.

This was the formal recognition of a long series of efforts for liberation in Bohemia, beginning with the proclamation on May 30, 1917 of the intention of the Bohemians under Austria and the Slovaks under Hungary to unite in a separate state. On January 6, 1918 the Czech deputies, together with the parliaments of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, declared that a peace which did not give them liberty would be only the signal for the beginning of another war.

The Czecho-Slovak Republic took definite form on October 18, 1918, when Prague was seized. . A Declaration of Independence and the severance from Austria-Hungary was read, and on October 29 the republic was formally proclaimed. Prof. Masaryk was made President on November 2. On November 15, the United States government extended a credit of $7,000,000 to the new republic and on November 19 a National Assembly met which ratified and made permanent all the preceding actions, confirming Masaryk as president.

As with Poland, so Czecho-Slovakia found itself with boundary wars on her hands. There was fighting between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Poles, between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Germans, between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Austrians, between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Hungarians. The non-settlement of European affairs pending the operation of the League of Nations Covenant as a part of the Peace Treaty was declared by the Czecho-Slovaks to be injurious to all attempts at stable peace. The Constitution of the new nation, first read in public in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, was modeled upon the Constitution and laws of the United States. Considerable changes were found necessary, however, to make it fit into the very different requirements of a European state.

Meantime the disruption of Austria and Hungary had caused several internal wars in the former empire, a Communist or Soviet state having been established in Hungary by Bela Kun. This Hungarian government made an alliance with the Russian Bolsheviki and attacked Slovakia. On June 9, 1919, Premier Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, notified Bela Kun's government that attacks on Slovakia must cease within 48 hours or "extreme measures" would be used. The Hungarian Communists stopped temporarily, but the Slovaks broke out in reprisal and Bela Kun attacked anew.

On July 13 the Allied Powers sent another ultimatum to Bela Kun, and General d'Esperey, who had been commander of the Fifth French Army at the Battle of the Marne and was at this time commander of the Allied Forces in the Near East, prepared to advance on Buda-Pesth with an army of 150,000 men. Bela Kun defied the allies and began a new offensive on July 23, but he sustained a sharp defeat

on July 28. His armies were intact and he was prepared to continue fighting, but the Allies exerted a firm hand, declared the Communist Government at an end and forced Bela Kun's resignation on August 1. This relieved the Hungarian pressure on Czecho-Slovakia.

Further disturbances in Austria and Hungary bred eager desires on the part of the Czechs and Slovaks to take a part, but the leaders of the young republic forbore from adding further to the troubles of the Peace Council and held the country in firm control. The final decisions of the peace treaties with Germany and Austria together with the boundaries as finally agreed upon, were ratified by Czecho-Slovakia on November 21 and December 3 respectively and the new republic took her place among the nations of the world.

LXVIII

THE UNION OF THE JUGOSLAVS

THE problems of Serbia — continued the Diplomat — did not deal with Serbia alone, but with "Greater Serbia." It was because of supposed connection with the Greater Serbia idea, that the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo, in Bosnia, became the direct cause of the outbreak of the Great War. The "Greater Serbia" question had been a dominant issue in the two Balkan Wars. But "Greater Serbia" is practically a synonym for "Jugoslavia," a Serbian word meaning "Southern Slavs."

Using Jugoslavia as a political word, its history begins with the Declaration of Corfu, of July 20, 1917, when M. Pashitch, the premier of Serbia and M. Trumbitch, President of the Jugoslav Committee, declared that "The States of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes . . . will be a free and independent kingdom, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy, with the Karageorgevitch dynasty at the head." This movement had the open but unofficial support of the Allies. On April 10, 1918, Italy agreed to the Jugoslav aspirations, deferring action of territorial questions. On May 29, the United States declared that "the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugoslavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this

government." The other allies had already signified their assent.

Just as the Czecho-Slovaks had read their proposed constitution for the first time, in Philadelphia, so the first official raising of the Jugoslav flag was in Washington, the flag itself being carried in a Fourth of July parade (1918) by little girls representing Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and America, the child, in the latter case, being the daughter of the American Secretary of War.

The Montenegrin Committee's representative joined the assembled Jugoslavs in the oath of fealty. King Nicholas of Montenegro had, during the war, lost the loyalty of his people because of his resolute opposition to the merging of Montenegro with Serbia and other Jugoslav countries.

A Mid-European Union was formed, also in Philadelphia, on October 26, 1918, in which Czecho-Slovak, Polish, Jugoslavian, Uhro-Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Roumanian, Italian, Greek, Lithuanian, Albanian and Zionist officials participated. It is mentioned as a matter of historical record. It had lasted only a few hours before the Ukrainians withdrew, a few days before the Poles withdrew, a few weeks before all the various component parts were at violent enmity with each other and most of them were at war.

With the signing of the armistice, Jugoslavia felt that world-wide momentary breathing spell while all the nations hoped that the peace treaties would be quickly signed and the war period over. Crown Prince Alexander of Serbia was appointed regent of the Jugoslav state on November 26, but Italy's occupation of Fiume had already given rise to a protest by the Jugoslav National Council. On December 1, the Montenegrin Council deposed the king, the king promptly denying the powers of the Council to do

so. On January 5, 1919, the United Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom was formed at Belgrade with Alexander as regent, with the full accord of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slovenia. Jugoslavia came into formal being. The Kingdom was recognized by the United States on February 7, 1919.

This, while it seemed the end of trouble, was only the beginning. Jugoslavia as formed was an enormous state, larger than Italy and with a larger population. It ranked in size among the first-class powers. When, therefore, Jugoslavia announced that the possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic by Italy would be termed an occasion for war, the matter became very grave. It was rendered all the graver by the fact that Great Britain and France, in secret treaties, had promised part of that coast to Italy and that his promise was one of the causes of Italy's entrance into the war. Either the Allies must break faith with Italy or must face a renewal of the war.

A peace treaty, speedily wrought and quickly signed, would have settled most of these disputes, but President Wilson's insistent demand that the Treaty must include the League of Nations Covenant created a complicated situation and caused delay. The spring of 1919 saw all the various nations gathered in the Jugoslav basket commencing separate nationalizing movements, Croatia being especially antagonistic.

Fiume became the storm-centre of the Italy-Jugoslav crisis. Yet the essential point was simple. Fiume is the natural port for the Croatian hinterland, but Fiume has always been an essential factor in the Italia Irredenta demands and the city is mainly Italian in population and character. President Wilson took the side of Jugoslavia,

Great Britain and France wished to make Fiume and a small section of hinterland a free state, Italy demanded both the land and the port. The Italian premier was supported by an almost undivided Italy. Secretary of State Lansing, on leaving the Peace Conference on July 12, 1919, made the significant remark "The Adriatic problem is still unsolved." It was still unsolved when the armistice period came to an end on January 10, 1920, and the new world-régime began.

During July, 1919, the Kingdom of Jugoslavia showed distinct signs of breaking up. Military revolts of a serious and well-organized character developed both in Croatia and Montenegro, the bone of contention being the Serbian preponderance of power. This weakening of Jugoslavia enhanced Italy's claims to be considered as a stable power and to control Fiume.

Gabriele d'Annunzio, poet, orator and military leader, seized Fiume on September 13 with 40 motor lorries and several thousand soldiers and there ensued a picturesque condition in which Italy was officially compelled to oppose an Italian soldier, leading an Italian army, holding a city which Italy herself desired to keep. The Allies agreed on a plan whereby the city itself was to be Italian and the port and hinterland Jugoslav, but President Wilson blocked the way to this agreement.

The action of the United States Senate, however, in refusing to allow the treaty to be ratified because of certain clauses in the League of Nations covenant which were regarded as un-American, caused the Allies (four nations having duly ratified) to proceed with the settlement of the Adriatic question in disregard of President Wilson's customary obstructionism. Accordingly, in conferences on

December 29 and 30, 1919, and again on January 7, 1920, the British and Italian diplomats came to an agreement, which was duly presented to the French and by them approved. When the ratifications were filed on January 10 the principles of the agreement were made that the hinterland of Fiume should be Jugoslav, but that the town should be autonomous yet under Italian control with port questions internationalized. Dalmatia and the islands were to be divided. When the League of Nations commenced functioning on January 16, 1920, only the details of this agreement remained to be settled.

LXIX

THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

THE Peace Conference, organized to draft the treaties of peace to be signed by Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, on the one hand and the 28 allied belligerent Entente Powers on the other, faced — the Diplomat continued — the most difficult series of problems in history. The three Allies most concerned were Great Britain, France and Italy. The strength of the United States as a world power and the fact that she had a less gainful aim, caused her to be considered equal in diplomatic importance with the other three. Thus was formed the "Big Four" of the Peace Conference, in whose hands all the decisions rested.

The "Big Four" were allowed five delegates apiece. The British delegation was headed by David Lloyd George, prime minister; the French by Georges Clemenceau, prime minister; and the Italian by Vittorio Orlando, prime minister. The United States delegation consisted of Woodrow Wilson, president; Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, Henry White, ex-Ambassador; Colonel Edward M. House, the president's personal adviser in all matters, and General Tasker H. Bliss of the U. S. Army.

The opening session of the Conference was held on January 18, 1919. President Poincaré of the French Republic greeted the delegates and President Wilson nominated M. Clemenceau as Permanent Chairman of the Congress. This

Photos from Brown Bros.

Hon. David Lloyd George;
Premier of England.

Hon. Vittorio Orlando;
Premier of Italy.

Hon. Georges Clemenceau;
Premier of France.

Hon. Eleutherios K. Venizelos;
Premier of Greece.

Herbert C. Hoover;
International Food Administrator.

ALLIED STATESMEN DURING THE WORLD WAR.

was ratified unanimously. The French premier accepted the post and the Peace Congress was begun.

The Peace Treaty was placed in the hands of the German delegates on May 7, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles where the Franco-Prussian peace treaty had been signed after the war of 1870–1871. The preceding three months and a half had been spent in constant debate to solve the difficult problems of satisfying all the nations involved. The labor involved was enormous and intricate. Thousands of conflicting claims had to be presented and adjusted.

The following were the most important claims: For the United States, the League of Nations; for Great Britain and colonies, the German colonies in Africa and the islands in the South Pacific Ocean, also Mesopotamia and a mandate in Arabia; for France, Alsace-Lorraine, a buffer state between her frontier and the Rhine, and the valley of the Sarre, also a mandate in Syria; for Italy, the Trentino, the eastern coast of the Adriatic, a protectorate in Albania, the Dodecanesus Islands in the Ægean Sea and extension of territory in Eritrea and Tripoli; for Jugoslavia, the Croatian seaboard and Fiume, the Dalmatian and Albanian islands (this entire claim being in opposition to the desires of Italy), also the Banat in the south of Hungary (this claim being disputed both by Hungary and Roumania); for Roumania, the Banat, Russian Bessarabia and the Dobrudja; for Greece, northern Epirus and Thrace excepting Constantinople and the Dardanelles should the latter be internationalized, also the province of Smyrna in Asia Minor and certain Ægean islands; for Bulgaria — which had no right to any claims, being a defeated country — part of Thrace and Macedonia; for Czecho-Slovakia, parts

of German Saxony and German Silesia, the Teschen mining district in Polish Silesia, extension of Eastern Galicia and a corridor to the Adriatic Sea; for Poland, disputed regions on all her borders, parts of Lithuania and a corridor to the Baltic Sea together with the city of Danzig; for Japan, the Shantung Peninsula, Kiao-Chau and the islands in the North Pacific; for China, the return of Shantung; for the Hedjaz, the greater part of Arabia east of the Pilgrim Railway; and for the Jews, a Zionist State in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, west of the Pilgrim Railway. All the neutral nations had desires, but, not being belligerents, these could not be pressed as claims.

All the defeated nations had protests. On the latter point there was a sharp difference of opinion between President Wilson and the other leaders of the Big Four, the head of the American delegation striving for mercy to the conquered, while Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando strove for severe justice.

It speedily became evident that the Peace Treaties, especially when correlated with the League of Nations Covenant advocated by President Wilson as the principal claim of the United States in the war, could not be drafted quickly. Accordingly, on February 16, 1919, the Armistice Convention was signed, prolonging the armistice indefinitely, but making it revokable by the Allied Powers at a notice of seventy-two hours. The Germans protested at the convention, alleging that it more closely followed Clemenceau's severe measure than Wilson's famous "fourteen points."

Before the Peace Treaty was finally drawn up, the first draft of the League of Nations Covenant was published. It was attacked in the United States Senate — which is

the treaty-making body of the Government — as injurious to the United States, and a virtual surrender of sovereignty to a group of foreign powers. The Senate also attacked the American Peace delegation as being non-representative of the American people, neither of the Houses of Congress being represented. Reservations were prepared which were accepted by a majority of the senators, these reservations all being in favor of American principles, but, at the President's behest, the senators of his own immediate following in the party voted with those who did not wish the treaty at all, even in its amended form, and defeated the passage of ratification. The real trouble arose from the fact that President Wilson demanded that the Peace Treaty be ratified without the change of a word or a letter. He would make no concessions, allow no compromise. The Senate resented the President's action, and also objected to the policy of secrecy and to the fact that the President declined to give Congress all the data in the case.

When, on October 29, 1919, the League of Nations became operative by the signature of four nations (Germany, and three of the principal Allied powers, Great Britain, France, and Japan), the Peace Treaty and its accompanying League of Nations Covenant had not been ratified by the United States Senate. War was rife, famine was widespread, industrial chaos reigned, Bolshevism became rampant, but President Wilson would not yield.

A disputed protocol to the German treaty with reference to the sinking of the German fleet at Scapa Flow caused further delay, but finally, on January 3, 1920, all the details were settled and the protocol was signed. Thus, with America still officially at war with Germany, the World War came to an end on January 10, 1920.

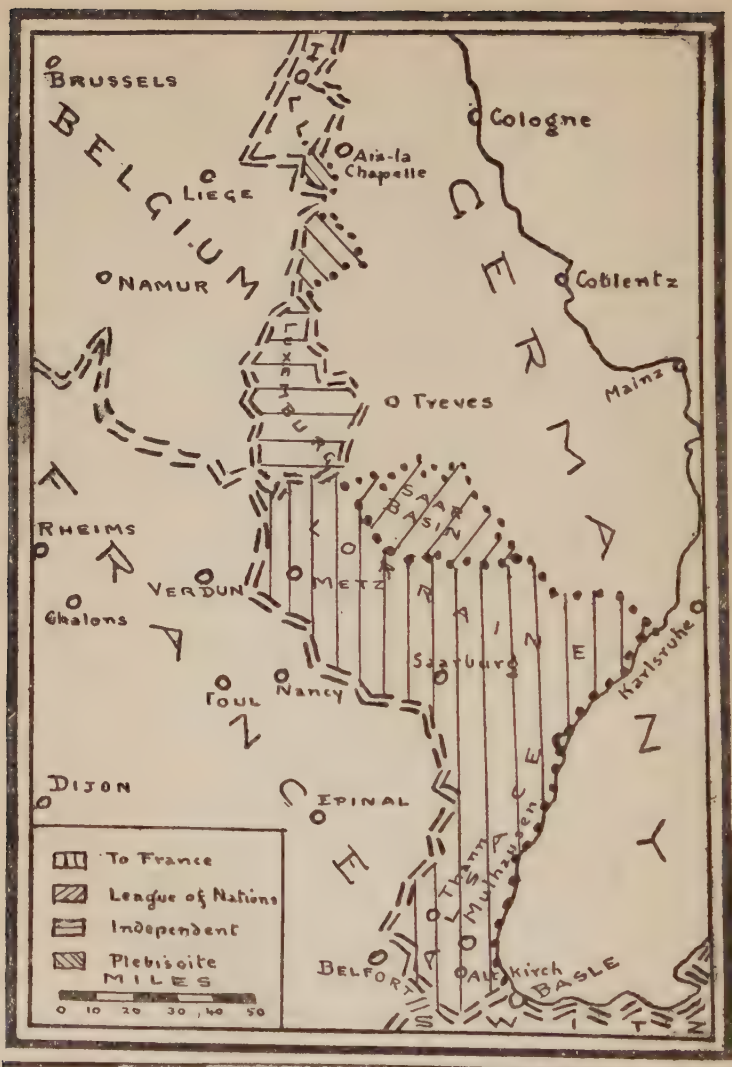


FIG. 45. WESTERN BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY

Showing Alsace-Lorraine returned to France. Luxemburg emancipated from the German Customs Union, and Saar Coal Basin placed under the direction of the League of Nations for a term of years and two areas on the eastern frontier of Belgium opened to a plebiscite vote to determine their governmental preference.

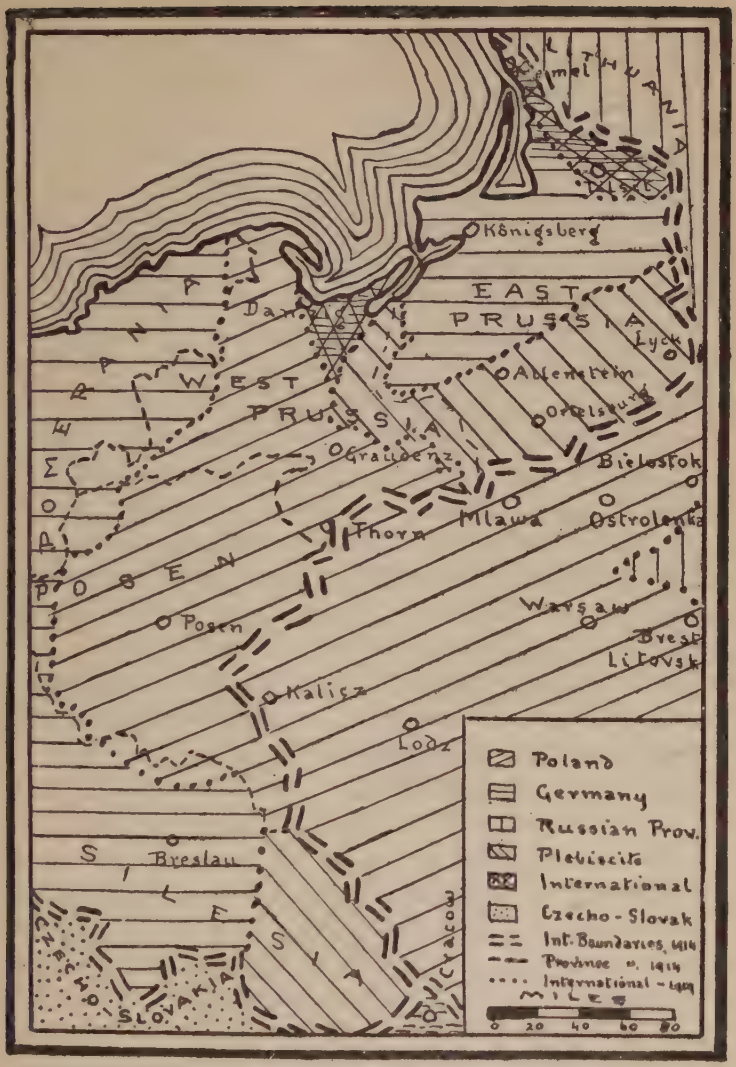


FIG. 46. EASTERN BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY

Frontiers as delimited and accepted in the final peace treaty. Note how East Prussia is entirely cut off from the east of Germany.

The Peace Treaty was given to the German delegates on May 7. Clemenceau made the brief and only speech for the Allies, stating that Germany would be given two weeks in which to file "observations." The president of the German delegation answered at some length, saying in part: "We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German Army is broken." He pointed out that Germany's hopes lay in "unlimited acknowledgment of the economic and social solidarity of all the people in a free and rising League of Nations."

The treaty was lengthy, about 80,000 words, not including supplementary provisions. It is impossible to condense so lengthy a document in a few words, but the main provisions were: Germany must give up, as territory, Alsace-Lorraine to France, Upper Silesia to Poland and abandon all her colonies; she must reduce her army to 100,000 men; abolish conscription; raze all forts west of the Rhine, and for a zone 50 kilometers east of the Rhine; reduce her fleet to six battleships, six light cruisers and 12 torpedo boats (submarines being forbidden); surrender all her cables; open the Kiel Canal to international trade; absolutely abandon all naval or military air forces; she must pay for all damages done during the war to a sum to be determined by a commission, an initial payment of $5,000,000,000 being demanded; she must recognize the total independence of German Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland; she must surrender persons demanded by the Allies to a tribunal to answer for the crimes of the war; and must accept the principle of the League of Nations, but without membership.

Germany began her protests with a note saying that "no

nation could endure" the terms. The Allies replied that "they can admit no discussion of their right to insist on the terms of peace." Later notes protested against the Saar Valley arrangements and the transfer of the Malmédy, Morsenet and Eupen districts to Belgium, and against reparation being based on Germany's responsibility for the war, which she denied. A request for a further week wherein to draft formal protest was allowed.

The official German protest was delivered to the Peace Conference on May 29. It was excessively long. It was prefaced with a letter protesting against "the victorious violence of our enemies." The principal objections were against the cession of German territory to Poland, of German territory to Czecho-Slovakia, of German territory to Belgium, the occupation of Rhenish territory, and the unlimited reparation sum which, said the protest "would condemn the German people to perpetual slave labor." "Thus must a whole people," it continued, "sign the decree for its own proscription, nay, its own death sentence."

The reply of the Allies to the counter-proposals was, in some respects, the most important document of the war. It was the world's decision on the case of Germany. Quotations from it are of the highest value. It said in part:

"In the view of the Allied and Associated Powers, the war which began on the 1st of August, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of the peoples that any nation calling itself civilized has ever consciously committed. For many years, the rulers of Germany, true to the Prussian tradition, strove for a position of dominance in Europe. . . . They required that they should be able to dictate and tyrannize over a subservient Europe, as they dictated and tyrannized over a subservient Germany. . . .

They developed a system of espionage and intrigue through which they were enabled to stir up international rebellion and unrest.

"As soon as their preparations were complete, they encouraged a subservient ally to declare war on Serbia at forty-eight hours' notice . . . which they knew was bound to unchain a general war. In order to make doubly sure, they refused every attempt at conciliation and conference until it was too late and the World War was inevitable for which they had plotted and for which alone among the nations they were adequately equipped and prepared.

"Germany's responsibility, however, is not confined to having planned and started the war. She is no less responsible for the savage and inhuman manner in which it was conducted. . . . They deliberately carried out a series of promiscuous shootings and burnings (in Belgium) with the sole object of terrifying the inhabitants into submission by the very frightfulness of their action. They were the first to use poisonous gas. . . . They began the bombing and long distance shelling of towns for no military object, but solely for the purpose of reducing the morale of their opponents by striking at their women and children. They commenced the submarine campaign with its piratical challenge to international law and its destruction of great numbers of passengers and sailors in midocean. . . . They drove thousands of men and women and children with brutal savagery into slavery in foreign lands. They allowed barbarities to be practiced against their prisoners of war from which the most uncivilized people would have recoiled. The conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in human history.

"Justice is the only possible basis for the settlement of

the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German delegation asks for. . . . But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and wounded and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved. . . . There must be justice for peoples who now stagger under war debts, which exceed $30,000,000,000, that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and lands and property German savagery has spoliated and destroyed.

"This is why the Allied and Associated Powers have insisted . . . that Germany must make reparation to the very uttermost of her power. Germany has ruined the industries of neighboring peoples . . . despoiled them of everything that could be carried away, destroyed the shipping of all nations in the high seas. It is only justice that restitution should be made. . . . If these restitutions are hardships for Germany, they are hardships which Germany has brought upon herself. Somebody must suffer for the consequences of the war. Is it to be Germany, or the peoples she has wronged? . . ."

The Allies made a few minor modifications in the manner of carrying out the conditions of the Peace Treaty, but none in its substance. On June 28, the last official act of the Entente Powers assembled was the signing of the Peace Treaty as accepted by Germany. This historic event occurred on June 28, 1919, five years to a day since the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince, which had given the signal for the beginning of the World War. The signing took place in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles when France, in 1871, had signed the peace terms forced on her by a victorious Germany. The circle of revenge was complete.

The Germans signed first, followed by the principal Allies in alphabetical order, the American delegation thus being the first, followed by the British, French, Italian, Japanese and afterwards the smaller nations. The signing of the treaty ended the war, conditional only upon the ratification by the official constitutional bodies of the various powers of the acts of their delegates. China, alone, refused to sign the German treaty, though she signed the Austrian treaty, later.

The ending of the war and the beginning of a new era in world affairs was determined by Article 440 of the Peace Treaty which declared "A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratification will be drawn up as soon as the treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand. From the date of the first procès-verbal the treaty will come into force between the high contracting parties who have ratified it." As this date was January 10, 1920, such was the date of the beginning of the new era.

The first of the signatories to ratify the Peace Treaty was Germany. This was done by the National Assembly at Weimar on July 9 and was approved by Friedrich Ebert, who sign as "President of the German Empire." Great Britain ratified the Peace Treaty in Parliament on July 21 and it was signed by the King on July 31. Belgium unanimously ratified the treaty on August 8. The King of Italy signed the ratification of the Peace Treaty on October 20, the constitutionality of the action, however, being debated. France ratified the Peace Treaty on October 21 and on the same day President Wilson was notified by the Supreme Council as to the form and manner in which the invitations to the first meeting of the League of Nations

Council should be carried out. The direction of operations was put in the hands of Great Britain, all the initial expenses were borne by that country, the first Secretary-General was Sir Eric Drummond, the clerical force was mainly British and the first place of meeting was set for London.

On October 27, 1919, the Japanese Privy Council ratified the Peace Treaty, Japan's action thus only requiring the signature of the Emperor. This signature was affixed on October 29 and as the conditions of the Peace Treaty provided that ratification of non-European nations might be accepted by telegraphic dispatch, on October 30, 1919 the required three principal powers had ratified the Treaty.

So far, though matters had moved slowly, they had advanced steadily, but in November, the growing distrust of the United States Senate towards the treaty became acute. Germany learned that America was by no means a unit behind President Wilson, and by no means in full accord with the other Allied Powers. The treaty was rejected by the Senate on November 19, 1919. The Allies were anxious to secure America's support, all the more because Germany had begun to adopt a defiant attitude, being supported in this by the Bolshevist successes in Russia. It was necessary to threaten Germany with harsh military measures before she would yield. The protocol being signed on January 6, 1920, the procès-verbal was drawn up and ratified on January 10, 1920, only fourteen powers being represented, although twenty-seven had ratified. The United States was not among them. On January 16, 1920, the Executive Council of the League of Nations met for the first time, with M. Leon Bourgeois of France as chairman, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Greece, Japan and Brazil being

represented. Thus the war closed and thus began a new world-régime, in which Germany had been shorn of her power and Austria-Hungary reduced to an ineffective and isolated state, surrounded by smaller nations over which she had once been master. The new era of peace began with the United States as the only important country still officially at war with Germany.

LXX

AUSTRIAN, HUNGARIAN, BULGARIAN AND TURKISH TREATIES

GERMANY had been a conquered nation, when the Peace Treaty was handed to the German delegates, but Austria was in even worse state. With or without the peace treaty, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was no more. Hungary had set up as an independent state, Bohemia and Slovakia had united to form Czecho-Slovakia, Galicia had become a part of Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina had become a part of Jugoslavia. The peace treaty, handed to the Austrian delegates in the Castle of St. Germain, near Paris, on June 2, 1919, was a very different document from the German treaty. Different also was Austria's reception of it. Dr. Karl Renner, the head of the Austrian delegation, was as courteous and submissive as Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau and the German delegation had been discourteous and arrogant.

The comment of the President of the Austrian Republic, which had been formed by the Socialists on March 4, 1919, was simple but significant. He said: "The treaty is a terrible one, but it is more terrible for the Entente than for us." The German Peace Treaty was a sentence of condemnation and punishment, the Austrian Peace Treaty was truly a sentence of death.

The counter-proposals made by Austria were dignified

and based on cogent reasons. Some modification was made by the Allies and on July 20 the final treaty was delivered to Austrian delegates. An extension of time was granted and Austria made further counter-proposals. These demanded discussion and reply. Again the treaty went to Austria, and again an extension of time was asked and granted. Territorial modifications were made, both favorable to and hostile to Austria. On September 10, 1919, in the Stone Age Hall of the Château of St. Germain, the Austrian Peace Treaty was signed, ending the war with Austria, as soon as the document should be ratified.

The treaty was drastic in the extreme. Austria was compelled to recognize the independence of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Jugoslavia. She lost all her southern territory in the Trentino and all access to the sea. She resigned all her colonies and all international rights in Morocco, Egypt and otherwhere. Disarmament was demanded as completely as in Germany. The financial clauses were such as to keep the Republic of Austria in a state of dependence for many years to come.

Ratification was delayed in the case of Jugoslavia and Roumania, neither of whom were satisfied with the territorial boundaries laid down by the Peace Conference. Their agreement was forced by an ultimatum that they would not be allowed to sign the Bulgarian treaty until they had signed the Austrian treaty. Jugoslavia protested, but signed on December 3, 1919. Roumania was still more defiant, and not until she was threatened with a rupture of diplomatic relations would she give in. She signed, however, on the very day that the American delegates left Paris, December 9, 1919.

The Hungarian Peace Treaty was presented to the Hun-

FIG. 47. THE DISINTEGRATION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Chain line shows the old boundary of the empire before the war, straight lines the boundaries of newly formed states. The ruled area shows all that remains of Austria; the dotted areas are territories whose status was not decided during the armistice period, but referred to the League of Nations for decision.

garian delegates on January 15, 1920. The former kingdom was required therein to waive all claim to Fiume and all its former territories now awarded to Italy, Roumania, Jugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia. It was also required to adhere to the principle of national minorities as set forth in the Austrian treaty. The army was cut down to a maximum of 35,000 men, without heavy artillery. Requirement was also made that Hungary must carry its share of the Austrian war debt.

The Bulgarian Peace Treaty was handed to the Bulgarian Peace delegation on September 19, 1919, in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The frontier changes were not large, there being only slight rectification of the borders of Greece, Roumania and Jugoslavia to the advantage of these nations. The Bulgarian army was ordered reduced to 20,000 men, the fleet surrendered, the importation of arms forbidden and the manufacture of arms and munitions confined to a single factory with a limited output. The chief point of the treaty was the cutting off of Bulgaria from the Mediterranean, the Xanthi region (Thrace) being removed from Bulgarian control. A demand that Bulgaria should have an outlet to the Mediterranean was referred to the League of Nations. The treaty was signed at Neuilly, near Paris, on November 27, 1919.

The Turkish question was one of an entirely different character from that of the other three participants in the war. Austria had been reduced to a small and unimportant state, Germany had been shorn of her power, and Bulgaria had been placed under severe restrictions, with a sharp assurance that the slightest sign of lack of good behavior would bring swift punishment. There was to be no mercy or consideration for Turkey.

On June 17, a Turkish delegation under Damad Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, presented a plea for consideration. Damad Pasha threw the whole blame on the Young Turk party and the German government. There were excuses for everything and everybody, and the plea ended with a statement that the latest Turkish Government intended to devote itself to modern progress. The delegation pleaded for the integrity of Turkish territories.

The allies, through Clemenceau, answered curtly. The French statesman pointed out that Turkey's record was an evil one, that even after Germany had been defeated, Armenian massacres continued; that Turkish promises were known to be glib but that they produced no impression, and that the Allies would most certainly not agree to a blanket statement guaranteeing Turkey's integrity. The Turkish Mission was advised to return to Constantinople, as the questions raised could not be decided quickly, and its presence in Paris was undesired.

The Supreme Council gradually arrived at the following tentative plans; the internationalization of Constantinople; the formation of an Arab Kingdom; the enlargement of Egypt, under a British protectorate; Mesopotamia under British direction; an autonomous Armenia; and the practical elimination of Turkey in Europe. This left nothing to the Turk but parts of Asia Minor and even these were to be divided into European spheres of influence. The Ottoman Empire was as thoroughly wrecked as the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been. Owing to the fact of the serious Bolshevist menace against Persia and India, the Allies decided to leave to the League of Nations the decision as to whether the Sultan should retain Constantinople as his capital, under international mandate. Fear of a Bolshevist-Mohammedan

alliance was rendered keener by the assumption of the throne of Kurdistan by the Turkish leader Enver Pasha. The Turkish Peace Treaty, therefore, was left to the League of Nations for settlement.

Almost immediately there arose a movement to have the greater part of this program put under an American mandate, the suggestion made being that the United States should have controlling power over Constantinople, the Dardanelles, Armenia and a sphere of influence between. At the same time, the French protested against the action of the British in recognizing the claims of the Kingdom of Hedjaz, which contained territory included in the French zone of a former Anglo-French treaty. Serious trouble broke out in Asia Minor, and the British and French troops remained to ensure order.

Discussion of this in the Senate of the United States revealed a sharp antagonism to President Wilson's international policy. In the course of this discussion, the question of American mandate for Armenia and the Near East was dealt with. It became evident at once that the Senate did not approve of the direct interference of the United States in the Near East, and popular opinion was with the Senate. It was semi-officially declared that President Wilson "was utterly wrong in his expectation" that the people of America would do just what he bade them do. Moreover, the American mission under General Harbord, sent to the Near East to investigate the question, flatly declared that an American mandate in Armenia would be unwise. On October 27, 1919, the decision was taken to remove from discussion all possibility of America's participation in Near East affairs. Whereupon the matter was referred to the League of Nations for adjustment of details, the main

U. S. Official Photo.

AMERICANS WHO HELPED THE WORLD TO VICTORY.

U. S. Troops passing under the Arc de Triomphe in the great victory parade of July 14, 1919.

factors remaining as outlined. President Wilson continued his obstructionist tactics.

Thus, in quadruple form, ended the World War, Germany beaten, Austria dwarfed, Bulgaria humbled and Turkey in Europe extinguished. On the ruins of three great empires had arisen six republics, two constitutional monarchies and five protectorates, on the ashes of autocracy a new democracy had been born; from the ruin of militarism began a new system of world-judgment and arbitration.

A new era had begun, with the League of Nations as a super-tribunal of the nations, its destinies controlled by the "Big Five," Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. That the new world-régime would banish human selfishness and war, no one believed; that it would become the Magna Charta of world-liberties, no one doubted.

The ship of humanity was steering into sunlit, if uncharted waters, and the United States was one of the five directors at the helm. America had risen to the full share of her greatness and of her responsibility as a World Power. Profound as were the changes in Europe, the change in America was profounder still.

DIPLOMATIC EVENTS

1914

June	22.	Austrian Crown Prince assassinated at Serajevo
July	5.	Germany prepares to support Austria
July	23.	Austrian ultimatum to Serbia
July	24.	Russia protests to Serbia
July	28.	Austria declares war on Serbia
July	30.	Germany threatens Russia
July	31.	Austria and Russia mobilize
Aug.	1.	Germany declares war on Russia
Aug.	2.	German ultimatum to Belgium
Aug.	3.	Germany declares war on France
Aug.	4.	Great Britain declares war on Germany
Aug.	15.	Japanese ultimatum to Germany
Aug.	20.	Germans occupy Belgian capital
Aug.	23.	Japan declares war on Germany
Aug.	25.	Sack of Louvain, historic ravage case
Aug.	26.	German Togoland surrenders
Sept.	2.	French capital is moved to Bordeaux
Sept.	3	China protests against Japan's invasion
Sept.	14.	Boer rebellion begins in South Africa
Sept.	29.	Turkey opens war on Russia
Oct.	4.	Russian invasion of Armenia
Oct.	12.	Belgian capital is moved to Havre
Oct.	13.	Martial law declared in South Africa
		Great Britain declares war on Turkey
Nov.	5.	Japan takes over rule in Shantung
Nov.	7.	France declares war on Turkey
Nov.	10.	"Holy War" proclaimed by Turkey
Nov.	13.	Senussi tribesmen threaten Egypt

1915

Feb.	4.	Boer rebellion in South Africa ended
Mar.	15.	Turks invade Persia
Apr.	25.	Italy signs agreement with Allies
May	9.	Italian syndicalists threaten civil war
May	14.	Italian pro-Germans force out cabinet
May	16.	Italian King restores pro-Ally cabinet
May	23.	Italy declares war on Austria
June	10.	Conquest of Kamerun completed
July	9.	Conquest of German Southwest Africa completed
Aug.	21.	Italy declares war on Turkey
Sept.	7.	Czar takes command of Russian armies
Sept.	16.	Allies demand Bulgaria's decision re alliance
Sept.	21.	Bulgaria mobilizes army
Sept.	25.	Greece mobilizes army and navy
Sept.	30.	Allied troops land in Saloniki
Oct.	3.	Russia sends ultimatum to Bulgaria
Oct	6.	Venizelos, Greek premier, opposes king
Oct.	12.	Germans execute Nurse Edith Cavell, historic case
Oct.	13.	Bulgaria invades Serbia, not declaring war
Nov.	4.	Civil war in Greece against pro-German king
Nov.	24.	Allies force Greece to friendly neutrality
Dec	17.	Egypt declared a British protectorate

1916

Feb.	12.	Italy breaks trade relations with Germany
Mar.	9.	Germany declares war on Portugal

Apr.	24.	Proclamation of Irish Republic
Apr.	29.	Irish rebellion quelled
May	27.	Greek king surrenders forts to Bulgarians
June	20.	Greece forced to comply with Allied demands
June	21.	Arabs revolt against the Turks
Aug.	27.	Italy declares war on Germany
Aug.	27.	Roumania declares war on Austria
Nov.	21.	Charles I becomes Emperor of Austria
Nov.	24.	Allies give ultimatum to Greece
Nov.	25.	Venizelos forms Greek provisional government
Dec.	1.	King of Greece defies Allies
Dec.	7.	Allies blockade Greece
Dec.	12.	Peace proposals offered by Germany
Dec.	15.	King of Greece submits to Allies
Dec.	16.	Russia refuses German peace
Dec.	19.	Italy refuses German peace
Dec.	20.	France and Great Britain refuse German peace
Dec.	30.	Rasputin, evil genius of Russia, assassinated

1917

Jan.	1.	Turkey abrogates all limiting treaties
Feb.	3.	U. S. breaks relations with Germany
Mar.	11.	Britain affirms Arab independence
Mar.	12.	Revolution breaks out in Russia
Mar.	14.	Provisional Russian government under Lvoff
Mar.	14.	China breaks relations with Germany
Mar.	15.	Abdication of Czar Nicholas of Russia
Mar.	22.	Allies recognize Lvoff government
Apr.	6.	U. S. declares state of war with Germany
Apr.	7.	Austria breaks relations with U. S.

June	4.	Polish national army recognized by Allies
June	12.	Abdication of King Constantine of Greece
June	29.	Greece breaks relations with Central Powers
July	17.	Bolsheviki seize Petrograd
July	20.	Socialist Russian government under Kerensky
July	20.	Union of Jugoslavs pronounced at Corfu
Sept.	15.	Kerensky declares Russia a republic
Oct.	10.	Germans propagandize Italian troops
Nov.	7.	Russian Reds seize Petrograd, army joins
Nov.	9.	Bolshevist Russian government under Lenine
Nov.	20.	Ukraine proclaimed a republic
Nov.	27.	Swiss frontiers closed by Central Powers
Nov.	29.	Scandinavian kings agree to united neutrality
Dec.	3.	Siberia proclaimed a republic
Dec.	7.	U. S. declares war on Austria
Dec.	7.	Finland proclaims independence
Dec.	11.	Britain proclaims freedom in Jerusalem
Dec.	18.	Ukraine declares war on Bolshevist Russia
Dec.	22.	German-Russian parleys begin at Brest-Litovsk

1918

Jan.	5.	Lloyd George outlines British "fourteen points"
Jan.	8.	President Wilson outlines his "fourteen points"
Jan.	18.	Bolshevist ultimatum to Roumania
Jan.	18.	Bolshevists dissolve Constituent Assembly
Jan.	30.	"Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic" proclaimed
Feb.	1.	Republic of Crimea proclaimed by Tartars
Feb.	9.	Germany-Ukraine peace at Brest-Litovsk
Mar.	3.	German-Russia peace at Brest-Litovsk
Mar.	7.	German peace with Finland
Mar.	7.	Roumania accepts German peace proposals
Mar.	11.	Bolshevist congress ratifies Brest-Litovsk treaty

Apr.	10.	Italy admits union of Jugoslavia
Apr.	26.	Trans-Caucasia proclaims independence
May	6.	Germany-Roumania treaty of Bucharest
May	14.	Cis-Caucasia proclaims independence
June	3.	Allies declare for "a free Poland"
June	12.	Ukraine and Bolshevist Russia make peace
June	30.	France recognizes Czecho-Slovak national army
July	4.	Bolshevists split into two factions
July	16.	Reds assassinate ex-Czar and family
July	23.	All-Russian (anti-Bolshevist) gov't forms at Omsk
July	26.	Turkestan proclaims independence
Sept.	14.	Austria issues peace note
Sept.	21.	Allies denounce Bolshevist "Reign of Terror"
Seyt.	28.	Bulgaria asks for armistice
Sept.	29.	Bulgaria surrenders
Oct.	4.	Arab independence formally recognized
Oct.	4.	King Ferdinand of Bulgaria abdicates
Oct.	6.	Germany proposes peace parley
Oct.	16.	Polish nation formally recognized
Oct.	18.	Czecho-Slovak Declaration of Independence
Oct.	23.	German peace offer referred to War Council
Oct.	27.	Germany asks for armistice
Oct.	29.	Czecho-Slovakia proclaimed a republic
Oct.	30.	Austria asks for armistice
Oct.	31.	Turkey surrenders
Nov.	3.	Austria surrenders
Nov.	4.	Allies agree on German armistice terms
Nov.	9.	Poland proclaimed a republic
Nov.	9.	Kaiser Wilhelm agrees to abdicate
Nov.	10.	Kaiser a refugee in Holland
Nov.	11.	Germany surrenders
Nov.	11.	Hostilities of the Great War ended
Nov.	11.	King of Saxony abdicates

Nov.	16.	Hungary proclaimed a republic
Nov.	17.	Allied Army of Occupation advances
Nov.	19.	Kolchak assumes dictatorship at Omsk
Nov.	20.	Pro-German government in Ukraine overthrown
Nov.	26.	Jugoslavs adopt provisional regency
Nov.	29.	Kaiser of German Empire abdicates
Nov.	30.	Lithuania proclaimed a republic
Dec.	1.	Army of Occupation crosses German frontier
Dec.	2.	King of Montenegro deposed
Dec.	6.	German Crown Prince renounces throne
Dec.	12.	Period of armistice extended
Dec.	13.	Army of Occupation takes posts on Rhine
Dec.	16.	Poland breaks relations with Germany

1919

Jan.	5.	Kingdom of Jugoslavia formed
Jan.	5.	Socialist insurrection in Germany
Jan.	11.	Grand Duchess of Luxemburg abdicates
Jan.	15.	Luxemburg votes against republic
Jan.	18.	Peace Conference begins in Paris
Jan.	19.	Paderewski-Pilsudski government in Poland
Jan.	25.	Peace Conference accepts League of Nations idea
Jan.	29.	U. S. recognizes Polish government
Feb.	7.	U. S. recognizes Jugloslavia
Feb.	15.	Dardanelles opened to American trade
Feb.	15.	Socialist government in Austria
Feb.	22.	Communist revolt in Hungary
Apr.	19.	Kazan proclaimed a republic
Apr.	23.	Revised League of Nations Covenant presented
Apr.	29.	German peace envoys reach Paris
Apr.	30.	Peace Conference agrees on Shantung plan
May	7.	Preliminary peace treaty given German envoys
May	7.	Republic of Finland recognized
May	10.	German protests against treaty

May	14.	Austrian peace envoys reach Paris
May	29.	Germany files final treaty protest
June	2.	Preliminary peace treaty given Austrian envoys
June	10.	Allies stop hostilities in Baltic provinces
June	16.	Allies reply sternly to German protest
June	27.	Caucasus republics form alliance
June	28.	Final peace treaty signed by Germany
June	28.	China refuses to sign German treaty
June	30.	Treaty presented to French Chamber
July	9.	German National Assembly ratifies treaty
July	9.	Treaty presented to British Parliament
July	10.	Treaty presented to U. S. Senate
July	13.	Allied ultimatum to Communist Hungary
July	20.	Final peace treaty handed to Austria
July	31.	Poland ratifies Peace treaty
July	31.	Germany adopts republican constitution
July	31.	Great Britain ratifies peace treaty
July	31.	Communist government in Hungary falls
Aug.	4.	Roumanians seize Buda-Pesth
Aug.	6.	Austrian counter-proposals received
Aug.	6.	Roumanian ultimatum to Hungary
Aug.	8.	Belgium ratifies peace treaty
Aug.	10.	Russian government of northwest under Yudenitch
Aug.	21.	Germany proclaimed a republic
Aug.	28.	America refuses mandate in Armenia
Sept.	10.	Final Austrian peace treaty signed
Sept.	19.	Peace treaty handed to Bulgaria
Oct.	21.	France ratifies peace treaty
Oct.	29.	Japan ratifies peace treaty
Nov.	10.	Czecho-Slovakia ratifies peace treaty
Nov.	13.	Roumanians evacuate Buda-Pesth
Nov.	19.	U. S. Senate rejects treaty

Dec. 3. Jugoslavia ratifies Austrian treaty
Dec. 9. American peace envoys leave Paris
Dec. 9. Roumania ratifies Austrian treaty
Dec. 18. Belgium refuses protected neutrality
Dec. 20. Fiume plebiscite opposes d'Annunzio
Dec. 20. Armenia-Georgia peace pact signed
Dec. 30. Esthonia-Bolsheviki armistice signed

1920

Jan. 3. Esthonian-Bolshevist pact presented
Jan. 10. U. S. warns Germany armistice conditions continue
Jan. 10. Final ratification procès-verbal signed. WAR ENDED
Jan. 12. Wilson issues call for League of Nations
Jan. 15. Hungarian treaty given to Hungary
Jan. 15. Adriatic question reaches final proposition
Jan. 16. U. S. grants Japan a free hand in Siberia
Jan. 16. First meeting of League of Nations Council. Taking over all diplomatic issues from all war and armistice commissions. WAR ERA ENDED

MILITARY EVENTS

1914

July 29. Belgrade bombarded by Austrians

Aug. 2. Germany invades Luxemburg
Aug. 3. Germany invades France
Aug. 4. Germany invades Belgium
Aug. 5. France invades Alsace-Lorraine
Aug. 9. Russia invades Germany
Aug. 9. First Alsace campaign a failure
Aug. 12. First Austrian invasion of Serbia
Aug. 13. Russian armies invade Austria
Aug. 13. Fall of the Liége forts
Aug. 17. Second Alsace-Lorraine invasion begins
Aug. 20. Decisive Battle of Metz

Aug.	21.	French driven from Alsace-Lorraine
Aug.	22.	French routed at Charleroi
Aug.	23.	British hold line at Mons
Aug.	23.	Russians menace Königsberg
Aug.	30.	Decisive German victory at Tannenberg
Aug.	31.	British force defeated in Kamerun
Sept.	2.	Russians capture Lemberg, Galicia
Sept.	4.	Second Austrian invasion of Serbia
Sept.	6.	Germans repulsed at Le Grand Couronné
Sept.	9.	Great victory of the Marne
Sept.	15.	Attempted crossing of the Aisne
Sept.	16.	Russians again defeated in East Prussia
Sept.	18.	Deadlock established on the Aisne
Sept.	26.	Deadlock established before Rheims
Sept.	26.	Beginning of smash for the sea
Sept.	30.	Fifth Battle of Peronne
Oct.	7.	Russians repulsed at Przemysl
Oct.	13.	Russians driven from East Prussia
Oct.	15.	Deadlock established on western front
Oct.	16.	Germans occupy Ostend
Oct.	20.	First Battle of Ypres
Oct.	24.	Battle before Arras
Oct.	25.	Deadlock established on eastern front
Oct.	27.	Battle before Le Bassée
Oct.	29.	First attack on Suez Canal by Turks
Nov.	3.	Fourth Battle on the Yser
Nov.	15.	Third Austrian invasion of Serbia
Nov.	22.	British occupy Basra, Mesopotamia
Dec.	6.	Kurna, on the Tigris, captured by British
Dec.	6.	Battle of Lodz, Poland
Dec.	8.	Turks defeated near Batum
Dec.	14.	Austrians driven from Serbia
Dec.	15.	Allied thrust on western front
Dec.	16.	Belgrade reoccupied by Serbians

1915

Jan.	1.	Russian invasion of Hungary
Feb.	4.	Turks defeated at Suez Canal
Feb.	26.	British-Boers invade German Southwest Africa
March	1.	German defeat at Przasnyaz
March	10.	Neuve Chapelle captured by British
March	19.	Memel seized by the Russians
March	22.	Przemysl surrenders to Russians
April	17.	German Southwest Africa conquest begun
April	21.	Russian offensive in Carpathians stopped
April	22.	Poison gas first used at Passchendaele
April	25.	Allied landing on Gallipoli Peninsula
April	28.	Germans launch offensive on eastern front
May	6.	Battle of Krithia, Gallipoli
May	8.	Libau taken by Germans
May	10.	Windhoek, capital of German S. W. Africa, taken
May	15.	Russians routed at Jaroslav
May	17.	French capture "The Labyrinth"
May	23.	British checked at Gallipoli
May	25.	Italians invade Austria
June	2.	Italians cross the Isonzo
June	2.	Przemysl evacuated by the Russians
June	10.	Italians seize Monfalcone
June	11.	Garua (Kamerun) surrenders to Allies
June	17.	Italians invade the Trentino
June	22.	Lemberg recaptured by Germans
June	30.	Deadlock established on Italian front
July	13.	German offensive launched at Verdun
Aug.	4.	Warsaw taken by Germans
Aug.	4.	Third attempt on the Suez Canal
Aug.	6.	Second landing on Gallipoli Peninsula

Aug.	10.	Novo-Georgievsk taken by Germans
Aug.	21.	Gallipoli proved impregnable
Aug.	26.	Brest-Litovsk captured by Germans
Sept.	2.	Grodno captured by Germans
Sept.	8.	Germans renew offensive against Verdun
Sept.	18.	Vilna captured by Germans
Sept	25.	Allied offensive, Champagne, Artois and Flanders
Sept.	28.	Kut-el-Amara captured by British
Oct.	3.	German invasion of Serbia
Oct.	5.	Allied landing at Saloniki
Oct.	9.	Belgrade captured by Germans
Oct.	13.	Bulgarian invasion of Serbia
Oct.	14.	Allies march from Saloniki to aid Serbia
Oct	17.	Bulgarians cut main Serbian railroad
Oct.	25.	Bulgarians enter Uskub
Nov.	5.	Nish captured by Bulgarians
Nov.	20.	Serbian army compelled to abandon Serbia
Nov.	22.	British defeated at Ctesiphon, Mesopotamia
Dec.	2.	Monastir taken by Bulgarians
Dec.	5.	British retreat to Kut-el-Amara and are besieged
Dec.	19.	Anzacs withdraw from Gallipoli

1916

Jan.	6.	British leave Gallipoli
Jan.	9.	Gallipoli campaign abandoned
Jan.	10.	Russian drive in Caucasus
Jan.	14.	Cettinje, Montenegrin capital, taken by Austrians
Jan.	28.	British relief columns on Tigris repulsed by Turks
Feb.	16.	Russians take Erzerum fortress (Asia Minor)
Feb.	21.	Tremendous offensive against Verdun
Feb.	25.	Germans carry Fort Douaumont (Verdun)

March	2.	Bitlis (Armenia) captured by Russians
March	11.	Germans carry Fort Vaux (Verdun)
March	16.	Terrific battle at Le Mort Homme (Verdun)
March	16.	British driven back at Es Sinn on Tigris
April	17.	Trebizond taken by Russians
April	19.	Slaughter ceases at Le Mort Homme
April	28.	Fourth relief expedition on Tigris fails
April	29.	British surrender to Turks at Kut-el-Amara
May	11.	German armies routed in East Africa
May	20.	Verdun offensive renewed in full force
June	5.	New Russian offensive begun on east front
June	18.	Czernowitz captured by Russians
June	21.	Mecca taken by Arabs
July	26.	Russians take Erzingan fortress (Asia Minor)
Aug.	9.	Goritzia taken by Italians
Aug.	26.	German capital in East Africa seized
Aug.	28.	Roumania invades Austria
Sept.	2.	Roumanians seize Iron Gate (Danube)
Sept.	3.	Germans start Roumanian offensive
Sept.	10.	Germans cross Struma River
Sept.	15.	Battle of the Somme, "tanks" first used
Sept.	19.	Germans smash Roumanian lines
Sept.	26.	Allied victories on western front
Sept.	30.	Roumanians routed at Hermannstadt
Oct.	11.	Austro-German armies invade Roumania
Oct.	23.	Germans capture port of Constanza
Oct.	24.	French launch offensive at Verdun
Oct.	25.	Cernavoda, on Danube, taken by Germans
Nov.	2.	French recapture Forts Vaux and Douaumont
Nov.	5.	French retake all heights before Verdun
Nov.	14.	Allies break Bulgarian lines in Serbia

Nov.	19.	Allies occupy Monastir
Nov.	23.	Iron Gate retaken by Germans
Dec.	4.	German armies sweep over Roumania
Dec.	6.	Bucharest, Roumanian capital, taken by Germans
Dec.	13.	British begin offensive on the Tigris

1917

Feb.	28.	British recapture Kut-el-Amara
March	11.	British enter Bagdad
March	17.	Bapaume taken by British
March	17.	Roye taken by French
March	18.	Peronne taken by British
March	18.	Russians occupy Van, Armenia
March	29.	German-Turk army defeated in southern Palestine
April	9.	Battle of Vimy Ridge
April	18.	British rout Turks at Samara
May	6.	French win Chemin des Dames
May	20.	British penetrate Hindenburg line
May	27.	Italians carry series of heights in Austria
July	1.	Russian offensive resumed under Kerensky
July	10.	Halicz retaken by Russians
July	22.	Russian army mutinies, breaks up
July	27.	Czernowitz abandoned by Russians
Aug.	19.	British advance in Flanders
Aug.	25.	Italians take heights above Trieste
Oct.	24.	Italian armies routed near Tolmino
Oct.	28.	Goritzia retaken by Austrians
Oct.	30.	Udine taken by Austrians
Nov.	1.	British take Beersheba, breaking main Turk line
Nov.	6.	Passchendaele taken by Canadians
Nov.	7.	British take Gaza, controlling southern Palestine
Nov.	9.	Italians stand on the Piave River

Nov.	10.	Asiago captured by Austrians
Nov.	11.	Belluno captured by Austrians
Nov.	14.	Venice threatened by Austrians
Nov.	15.	British straddle Jerusalem Railway
Nov.	17.	Austro-Germans repulsed on Piave
Dec.	1.	German East Africa cleared of German troops
Dec.	3.	British defeated near Cambrai
Dec.	11.	British enter Jerusalem

1918

Jan.	29.	Italians smash Austrian line
Feb.	15.	Germany begins new Russian invasion
Feb.	16.	Austria begins new Ukraine invasion
Feb.	20.	Turkey begins new Caucasus invasion
Feb.	21.	British capture Jericho
Feb.	23.	Turks retreat across Jordan
Feb.	26.	Germans defeated by Bolshevist army
March	21.	Huge German offensive launched on western front
March	23.	Paris shelled by long-range guns
March	24.	Germans retake Péronne
March	25.	Germans retake Bapaume
March	26.	Germans retake Noyon and Roye
March	27.	Germans retake Albert
March	28.	Germans repulsed at Arras
March	28.	Marshal Foch made generalissimo
March	31.	Germans checked in Picardy
April	4.	Armenians take Erzerum from Turks
April	5.	Germans repulsed at Amiens
April	10.	Germans retake Armentières
April	17.	Turks capture Batum
April	19.	Germans repulsed at Ypres
April	21.	Armenians reoccupy Van
April	24.	Germans use tanks first at Villers-Bretonneux
April	27.	Germans take Mont Kemmel
April	29.	Germans repulsed at Ypres anew

May	27.	Germans retake Chemin des Dames
May	29.	Germans take Soissons
May	30.	German offensive checked
June	15.	Austrian offensive launched in Italy
June	18.	Austrian offensive checked
June	19.	German drive on Rheims repulsed
June	23.	Austrians driven back in Italy
July	6.	Piave region cleared of Austrians
July	11.	Triple Allied drive on Bulgaria
July	15.	German drive at Château-Thierry checked
July	18.	Allied counter-offensive launched
July	21.	Germans evacuate Château-Thierry
July	27.	Germans evacuate Marne salient
Aug.	2.	French retake Soissons
Aug.	4.	Americans capture Fismes
Aug.	8.	British offensive launched on the Somme
Aug.	10.	French retake Montdidier
Aug.	21.	French retake Lassigny
Aug.	22.	British retake Albert
Aug.	27.	Allies smash Hindenburg line
Aug.	28.	French retake Chaulnes
Aug.	29.	French retake Noyon
Aug.	30.	French retake Bapaume
Agu.	31.	British retake Mont Kemmel
Sept.	1.	British retake Péronne
Sept.	3.	British smash line at Quéant
Sept.	6.	Germans in full retreat
Sept.	13.	Americans wipe out St. Mihiel salient
Sept.	17.	German-Bulgarian army routed in Serbia
Sept.	24.	French and Serbs take Prilep
Sept.	26.	British seize Hedjaz Railway
Sept.	28.	Americans cross Kriemhilde Line
Sept.	28.	Belgians take offensive on coast
Sept.	30.	French enter Uskub, Serbia
Sept.	30.	Belgians take Roulers

Oct.	1.	British and Arabs capture Damascus
Oct.	2.	French retake Armentières
Oct.	2.	French enter St. Quentin
Oct.	5.	Germans evacuate Lille
Oct.	9.	British retake Cambrai
Oct.	13.	Germans evacuate Laon
Oct.	13.	Allies capture Nish, Serbia
Oct.	13.	French retake La Fère
Oct.	15.	Italians capture port of Durazzo
Oct.	16.	Americans capture Grand Pré
Oct.	16.	Germans abandon Belgian coast
Oct.	17.	Belgians enter Ostend and Bruges
Oct.	19.	Western Belgium cleared of Germans
Oct.	19.	Germans begin to evacuate Brussels
Oct.	24.	Terrific Italian offensive launched
Oct.	26.	Aleppo, Syria, captured by British
Oct.	31.	Austrian armies in Italy annihilated
Nov.	2.	British take Valenciennes
Nov.	3.	Italians take Trent
Nov.	3.	Italians take Trieste
Nov.	3.	Serbians reoccupy their capital, Belgrade
Nov.	7.	Americans take Sedan Railway
Nov.	8.	Belgians reach Ghent
Nov.	9.	British take Maubeuge
Nov.	10.	French take Mezières
Nov.	11.	British take Mons
Nov.	11.	Hostilities of the Great War ended
Dec.	13.	Military occupation of Germany begins

1919

Jan.	4.	Riga captured by Bolsheviki
Jan.	8.	Vilna captured by Bolsheviki
Jan.	20.	Ufa taken by Bolsheviki
Jan.	25.	Orenburg taken by Bolsheviki
Feb.	1.	Allies defeated by Bolsheviki near Archangel

March	13.	Bolsheviki evacuate Ufa
March	20.	Bolsheviki evacuate Pinsk
March	29.	Libau captured by Letts
April	9.	Odessa captured by Bolsheviki
April	16.	Germans seize Libau
April	29.	Poles drive Bolsheviki from Vilna
May	25.	Finns mobilize against Bolsheviki
June	9.	Bolsheviki retake Ufa, important victory
June	12.	Allies send help to Kolchak
June	15.	Americans leave Archangel front
June	28.	Cossacks win all Black Sea ports
July	2.	Denikine conquers all southern Russia
July	2.	Bolsheviki capture Perm
July	14.	Bolsheviki capture Ekaterinburg, all eastern Russia
July	20.	Kolchak in full retreat
Aug.	12.	Kolchak sends desperate appeal for help
Aug.	15.	Poles and Germans begin frontier war
Sept.	11.	Allies abandon Archangel front
Sept.	12.	D'Annunzio seizes Fiume
Oct.	18.	Ukraine declares war on Denikine
Oct.	24.	Yudenitch threatens Petrograd
Oct.	28.	Bolsheviki capture Urals and western Siberia
Nov.	1.	Denikine retreats in Ukraine
Nov.	4.	Bolsheviki defeat Yudenitch near Petrograd
Nov.	8.	Kolchak abandons his capital, Omsk
Nov.	10.	Kolchak moves headquarters to Irkutsk
Nov.	22.	Denikine begins to fall back
Dec.	4.	Denikine defeated by Bolsheviki
Dec.	12.	Kharkov taken by Bolsheviki
Dec.	16.	Kiev taken by Bolsheviki

Dec. 24. Tomsk taken by Bolsheviki
Dec. 31. Ekaterinoslav taken by Bolsheviki

1920

Jan. 5. Denikine routed by Bolsheviki
Jan. 5. Kolchak deposed from command
Jan. 8. Krasnoyarsk taken by Bolsheviki
Jan. 9. Irkutsk revolts to Bolsheviki
Jan. 10. Final ratification, armistice war conditions completed. WAR ENDED
Jan. 10. Bolsheviki win Western Siberia
Jan. 11. Odessa taken by Bolsheviki
Jan. 13. Bolsheviki win all Southern Russia
Jan. 16. First meeting of League of Nations Council taking over all military issues from all war and armistice commissions. WAR ERA ENDED

NAVAL AND AERIAL EVENTS

1914

July 26. British fleet prepares for action
July 30. Mobilization of fleets in Far East

Aug. 2. British fleet to support France
Aug. 4. British mine-layer sunk, first naval hostility
Aug. 5. Belgian-German aerial duel, first in history
Aug. 5. Zeppelins fly over Belgium
Aug. 6. British cruiser *Amphion* sunk by mine, first warship lost
Aug. 7. German cruisers *Goeben* and *Breslau* leave Genoa
Aug. 8. Capital of Togoland surrenders
Aug. 9. *Goeben* and *Breslau* in Dardanelles
Aug. 10. First German submarine sunk by British
Aug. 10. North Sea closed to traffic and fishing fleets
Aug. 23. German Samoa captured by New Zealanders
Aug. 25. Aerial bombs dropped on Antwerp, first fatalities
Aug. 26. Allied fleets bombard Tsing-Tao
Aug. 28. The Battle of the Bight of Helgoland

Aug.	30.	Japanese land at Tsing-Tao
Sept.	13.	German New Guinea taken by Australians
Sept.	13.	Kiao-Chau taken by Japanese
Sept.	14.	Japanese aeroplane bombs Tsing-Tao
Sept.	22.	Three British cruisers sunk by single submarine
Oct.	7.	Island of Yap taken by Japanese
Oct.	29.	Raider *Emden* sinks warships at Penang
Oct.	30.	Raider *Konigsberg* entrapped
Nov.	1.	German naval victory off Coronel, off Chili
Nov.	3.	First cruiser raid on the English coast
Nov.	7.	British take Turkish fort at Fao, Mesopotamia
Nov.	9.	Raider *Emden* sunk by Australians at Cocos Islands
Nov.	19.	Dixmude bombarded by British monitors
Dec.	8.	Great British victory of Falkland Islands
Dec.	9.	Last of German naval bases in Pacific captured
Dec.	16.	Second cruiser raid on English coast
Dec.	24.	First air raid on England
Dec.	27.	British naval and air raid on Cuxhaven

1915

Jan.	10.	Aerial squadron combat above Dunkirk
Jan.	24.	British naval victory off Dogger Bank
Feb.	3.	Swiss troops fire on German aviators
Feb.	18.	Submarine blockade of England in effect
Feb.	22.	Calais bombed by Zeppelins
Feb.	26.	Bombardment of outer Dardanelles forts
March	10.	Raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* interned
March	14.	Raider *Dresden* sunk at Juan Fernandez
March	15.	Allied bombardment of Dardanelles fails
March	17.	Raider *Karlsruhe* reported sunk
March	18.	Allied fleet repulsed in Dardanelles
March	28.	*Falaba* sunk with Americans aboard

April 6. First submarine caught by steel net device
April 11. Raider *Kronprinz Wilhelm* interned
April 28. Bombardment of Dardanelles resumed
April 28. American vessel *Cushing* bombed by aeroplane

May 1. American vessel *Gulflight* torpedoed
May 7. *Lusitania* torpedoed by submarine
May 31. London bombed by Zeppelin fleet

June 7. Zeppelin destroyed by single British aeroplane
June 17. Austrian-Italian submarine duel, first in history

July 2. German Baltic fleet defeated by Russians
July 6. Adriatic Sea closed by blockade

Aug. 8. German Baltic fleet repulsed at Riga
Aug. 23. Zeebrugge shelled by British fleet

Sept. 8. Zeppelins kill many in raid on London

Oct. 1. Britain reports sinkings of 50 hostile submarines
Oct. 16. Blockade of Bulgarian coast established

Dec. 19. German gunboats defeated on Lake Tanganyika, Africa
Dec. 30. *Persia* torpedoed, American consul drowned

1916

Jan. 30. Serious Zeppelin raid on Paris

Feb. 13. Austrian aeroplanes bomb Italian hospitals

March 1. Submarine warfare intensified by official order
March 5. Raider *Moewe* successfully returns to Germany

April 25. Cruiser raid on English coast

May 31. Battle of Jutland, chief naval action of war

June 5. Lord Kitchener lost on torpedoed vessel

July 9. Commercial submarine *Deutschland* crosses Atlantic
July 27. Execution of Captain Fryatt

Oct. 7. German submarine U-53 in American port

Nov. 20. Two British hospital ships torpedoed
Nov. 25. Destroyers raid English coast

1917

Jan. 13. Russians sink forty food ships in Black Sea
Jan. 21. Austrian naval base at Pola bombed by aeroplane
Jan. 23. Destroyer battle in North Sea

Feb. 1. German submarine zone proclaimed, cause of U. S. entering war
Feb. 26. Destroyers raid English coast

March 8. Death of Count Zeppelin, no further airships built
March 9. U. S. arms merchant vessels
March 22. Raider *Moewe* returns from second cruise

May 10. German destroyers raid Calais
May 16. American fleet in European waters

June 8. U. S. transport under naval convoy reaches France

July 4. Submarine danger zone extended
July 8. Brazilian navy undertakes South Atlantic patrol
July 11. Zeppelin fleet raids London

Aug. 18. Sixty-three aeroplanes crash in two-day combat in France
Aug. 20. Italian monitors bombard Trieste
Aug. 22. Widespread Zeppelin raid in England

Sept. 22. British bombardment of Ostend

Oct.	1.	Four aeroplane squadrons raid English coast
Oct.	9.	Mutiny in German Navy
Oct.	17.	U. S. transport *Antilles* sunk
Oct.	18.	German Baltic fleet traps Russians
Oct.	19.	Thirteen Zeppelins raid English coast
Oct.	27.	Allied fleets bombard Gaza, in Palestine
Nov.	25.	Venice bombed by Austrian aeroplanes

1918

Jan.	20.	*Goeben* and *Breslau* sunk off Dardanelles
Jan.	28.	Serious aeroplane raid on London
Jan.	30.	Serious aeroplane raid on Paris
Feb.	6.	Austrian bombing raid on hospitals
Feb.	18.	One hundredth air raid on London
Feb.	24.	Raider *Wolf* returns safely to Germany
March	20.	Dutch ships seized by Allies
April	23.	Zeebrugge Harbor blocked by daring British raid
May	10.	Ostend Harbor blocked in raid
May	15.	North Sea mine-field completed by British
May	16.	Two-day aerial battle, 103 German planes lost
May	19.	Four aeroplane squadrons in hospital raid in France
May	25.	German submarines raid U. S. coast shipping
June	5.	Germany has seven U-boats in American waters
Aug.	7.	Lightship sunk off Cape Hatteras
Aug.	10.	Ten fishing vessels sunk off Nantucket
Aug.	10.	Mustard gas attack on North Carolina coast
Sept.	3.	Submarines cease operations in U. S. waters
Oct.	2.	Austrian naval base at Durazzo destroyed
Oct.	9.	Huge raid over Germany, 350 planes participating
Oct.	20.	German submarine warfare ended

Nov.	1.	Austrian flagship *Viribus Unitis* torpedoed by tank
Nov.	11.	Naval hostilities ended in Great War
Nov.	20.	Twenty German submarines surrender off English coast
Nov.	21.	German High Seas Fleet surrenders to Allies
Dec.	26.	U. S. battleships return home

1919

March	26.	Austrian fleet surrenders
April	14.	American cruiser and destroyer fleets return
May	20.	U. S. seaplane in first trans-Atlantic flight
June	15.	British aeroplane in first non-stop trans-Atlantic flight
June	21.	German fleet sunk at Scapa Flow by Germans
July	6.	British dirigible crosses Atlantic
July	13.	Dirigible completes first trans-Atlantic round trip
Oct.	22.	Allied fleets bombard Kronstadt

1920

Jan.	10.	Final ratification, armistice naval conditions completed. WAR ENDED
Jan.	10.	*H. M. S. Hood,* greatest battle cruiser in world, launched
Jan.	16.	First meeting of League of Nations Council taking over all naval and aerial issues from all war and armistice commissions. WAR ERA ENDED

AMERICAN EVENTS

1914

Aug.	6.	Many Americans in Paris join Foreign Legion
Aug.	8.	Americans permitted to leave Germany

Sept.	3.	Turkey bars U. S. cruiser from Dardanelles
Dec.	28.	Protest to Great Britain against trade interference

1915

March	24.	Many Americans serving in Canadian ranks
April	5.	Protest to Germany on ship sinkings
April	5.	Protest to Gt. Britain on invasion of neutral rights
April	11.	German ambassador impugns U. S. neutrality
May	13.	First American note re *Lusitania*
May	25.	Italy entering war, U. S. restates neutrality
July	24.	Third American note re *Lusitania*
Aug.	15.	Right to ship munitions reaffirmed
Sept.	9.	Recall of Austrian ambassador demanded
Oct.	5.	Dr. Dumba, Austrian ambassador, recalled
Dec.	3.	Recall of German military and naval attachés demanded
Dec.	10.	Captains Boy-Ed and Papen, German attachés, recalled
Dec.	16.	Protest to Great Britain re seizure of mails

1916

April	18.	Protest against submarine piracy
May	24.	Second protest re Allied seizure of mails
Dec.	18.	President Wilson offers peace mediation

1917

Jan.	31.	Germany announces "ruthless" submarine policy
Feb.	3.	Diplomatic relations with Germany broken

Feb.	10.	Ambassador Gerard leaves Germany
Feb.	14.	Ambassador Bernstorff leaves U. S.
April	2.	President Wilson asks declaration of war
April	6.	State of war with Germany declared
April	15.	Proclamation of industrial mobilization
May	18.	Selective draft law passed
May	18.	First American hospital unit reaches overseas
June	5.	Registration Day for draft army
June	13.	General Pershing reaches France
June	19.	Admiral Sims takes charge in Irish waters
July	20.	Drawing for draft army
Aug.	7.	National Guard drafted into Federal Service
Aug.	10.	Food Control Bill passed, H. C. Hoover, administrator
Aug.	27.	Vatican peace proposals rejected
Sept.	5.	First contingent of draft army encamps
Oct.	27.	First Americans in firing line
Nov.	30.	American engineers in hot skirmish
Dec.	7.	Declaration of war against Austria
Dec.	28.	Government assumes control of railroads

1918

Jan.	31.	American unit placed in quiet sector
March	6.	War decorations authorized
March	28.	U. S. troops put at Foch's disposal
April	21.	Americans in action at Seicheprey
April	29.	First Division occupies a sector of front

May	28.	Capture of Cantigny village
June	8.	Marines capture Belleau Wood
July	2.	Marines on Murman coast in Russia
July	15.	Unyielding stand at Château-Thierry
July	18.	Franco-American advance on the Marne
Aug.	3.	Troops sent to Vladivostok
Aug.	8.	All branches fused into National Army
Aug.	10.	First American Field Army organized
Aug.	30.	First Army takes over sector of front east of Verdun
Sept.	12.	Battle of St. Mihiel, first all-American action
Sept.	25.	First Army transferred to Argonne
Sept.	26.	Heavy offensive launched in Argonne
Sept.	29.	Heavy German counter-thrust in Argonne
Sept.	30.	Line holds and advance continues
Oct.	9.	Second American Army formed
Oct.	14.	Kriemhilde line smashed
Nov.	6.	German line of communication cut near Sedan
Nov.	17.	American troops of Occupation advance
Dec.	1.	American force enters Germany
Dec.	2.	First returning troops reach New York
Dec.	13.	American force crosses the Rhine
Dec.	13.	Peace delegation arrives in Paris
Dec.	16.	Cologne occupied by U. S. force

1919

Jan.	22.	President Wilson asks Bolshevist conference at Prinkipo
Jan.	25.	President Wilson demands League of Nations as U. S. claim
Feb.	15.	Prinkipo conference a fiasco

Feb.	24.	President Wilson returns to America
March	4.	Sixty-fifth Congress ends
March	6.	President Wilson starts for Paris anew
April	23.	President Wilson blocks Fiume settlement
April	28.	President Wilson presents revised League Covenant
May	19.	Sixty-sixth Congress opens
May	20.	Presidential message cabled from Paris
July	8.	President Wilson returns to America
July	10.	Treaty presented to Senate
July	14.	Senate attack on League begins
July	24.	Senate demands secret treaties
July	29.	Franco-American-British treaty presented
Sept.	3.	President Wilson starts speaking tour on League
Sept.	4.	Opposition senators on rival speaking tour
Sept.	8.	General Pershing returns to America
Sept.	29.	President Wilson abandons tour
Oct.	18.	President Wilson blocks Fiume agreement anew
Nov.	4.	Republican (anti-Wilson) Congress elected
Nov.	8.	Senate test vote demands treaty reservations
Nov.	19.	Senate rejects peace treaty
Dec.	9.	American peace delegates leave Paris

1920

Jan.	10.	U. S. warns Germany armistice conditions continue
Jan.	12.	President Wilson issues call for first League of Nations meeting
Jan.	16.	League of Nations Council meets without American representation

THE END

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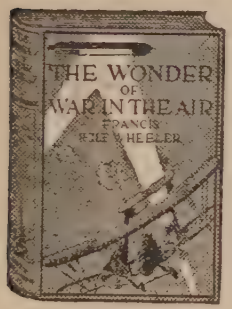

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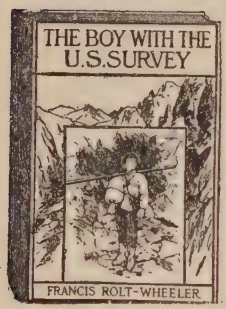

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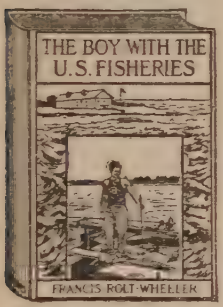

WITH a bright, active American youth as a hero, is told the story of the Fisheries, which in their actual importance dwarf every other human industry. The book does not lack thrilling scenes. The far Aleutian Islands have witnessed more desperate sea-fighting than has occurred elsewhere since the days of the Spanish buccaneers, and pirate craft, which the U. S. Fisheries must watch, rifle in hand, are prowling in the Behring Sea to-day. The fish-farms of the United States are as interesting as they are immense in their scope.

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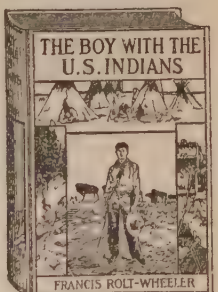

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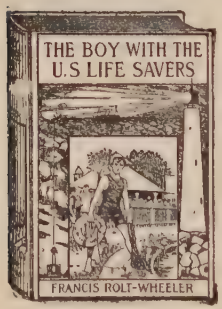

THE billows surge and thunder through this book, heroism and the gallant facing of peril are wrought into its very fabric, and the Coast Guard has endorsed its accuracy. The stories of the rescue of the engineer trapped on a burning ship, and the pluck of the men who built the Smith's Point Lighthouse are told so vividly that it is hard to keep from cheering aloud.

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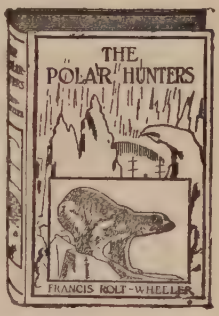

THE "Frozen North" always fascinates as a subject, and in no other book has so haunting a picture been drawn of Eskimo life. Strange fights with walrus and polar-bear on the sea, ice perils from drifting floes and crashing bergs, and the constant fight against hunger, cold and darkness, give this book a glamor as great as is its wealth of information.

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